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सत्यं शिवं सुन्दरम्

Estd. 1949

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Oriental Institute
The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda
Vadodara

Editor
Sweta Prajapati

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CONTENTS

1. **Veda and The Indian Wisdom Tradition**
- G. C. Tripathi 1-10

2. ***Bhaiṣajya* Related Activities in Buddhist Monastic Establishments** - Neeraj Kumar Mishra 11-18

3. **The *"Abhijñāna-Śakuntalā"* – 225 Years of Textual Criticism**
- Vasantkumar M. Bhatt 19-57

4. ***Sanatkumāracakricarita* : A Remarkable Jaina Mahākāvya**
- Satyavrat Varma 59-88

5. **Medicinal Importance of *Āmra (Mangifera Indica L.)* in Ancient Indian Texts** - Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi, Vartika Jain 89-112

6. **Gaṇeśa Daivajña's *Upapatti* on The Area of A Quadrilateral**
- V. Ramakalyani 113-128

7. **Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa Image in Chaiya: A Review of India-Siam Cultural Interaction**
- Bhaswati Mukhopadhyay 129-141

8. **Some Thoughts on The Place and Date of The Commentator Dārila** - Shilpa Sumant 143-163

9. **Jain Sanskrit Dramatists of Gujarat** - Sharmila Bagchi 165-174

10. ***Jñānaprabodhamañjarī* : An Unpublished *Advaita-Vedānta* Text** - Somnath Sarkar 175-203

Book-Review 205-206

New Arrival 207-210

Activities of Oriental Institute (2021 - 2022) 211-213

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VEDA AND THE INDIAN WISDOM TRADITION

G. C. Tripathi*

Abstract: Veda is an epitome of wisdom tradition of India. It is not only the source of wisdom but to acquire knowledge. A *Ṛṣi* is said to be a *Krāntadarśin* - having transcended vision. He transcends *Kāla* and *dik,* present and future, becomes present free from the shackles of time and space, describes his unique perception which comes to him in words and becomes a *kavi* and the *kāvya* he creates, never becomes obsolete nor does it appears in void. Some examples are given here to show the excellence of his merit as *kavi.*

Keywords: wisdom, knowledge, *pratibhā, kavi, kāvya. krāntadarśin, unmeṣa*

There cannot be a better corpus of texts than that of the Veda to explore the wisdom tradition of India - a view which is also supported by Indian tradition according to which Veda is an epitome of wisdom, if not totally identical with it. As is well known, the English word 'wisdom' is derived from the same Indo-European root *'Vid'* = to know (with the suffix *'dom'* forming an abstract noun[1]) an out of which the word Veda is also derived and hence the core meaning of both these words is more or less identical.

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1. Cf. also the German verb wissen = to know, Weisheit = wisdom. In Latin this root has developed the meaning of 'seeing', Its infinitive form is videre = to see, video = I see, I am seeing/observing. In the Modern Information technology, this verbal expression has become a sort of noun in, the sense of a direct preception of moving objects.

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But Veda is, in fact, more. It is not only wisdom but also a 'means' to acquire wisdom or knowledge. That is why it is considered as testimony, a *pramāṇa,* and at that the foremost one:

प्रत्यक्षेणानुमित्या वा यस्तूपायो न बुध्यते ।
एनं विदन्ति वेदेन तस्माद् वेदस्य वेदता ॥

The knowledge acquired through the Veda as means does not need verification or corroboration from any other source. It is *svataḥ pramāṇa,* a testimony by itself.

The question then arises: What does the Veda unfold to us? Why do we need a text as an epistemological means inspite of our being endowed with sense organs (*jñānendriyās*), mind *(manas*) and intellect (*buddhi*). What Kind of knowledge does it lead to ?

It must certainly be a kind of knowledge which cannot be achieved through our senses, our mind and our intellect; i.e. 'transcendental knowledge' of some reality which cannot be comprehended by mind (यं मनसा न मनुते, *Kena Up.* I.5) and which is beyond the reach of words (यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते, *Taitt. Up.* II.9.1, cf also *Kaṭha Up.* II.3.12)

Veda is the repository of intuitive knowledge (*pratibhā jñāna*) which a *Ṛṣi* acquires in the state of meditation, when he is undergoing-so to say a transcendental experience, when he is in the company of gods discovering the secrets of their nature:

1. अपाम सोममृता अभूमागन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । RV VIII.48.3

2. उद्वयं तमसस्परि ज्योतिष्पश्यन्त उत्तरम् ।
देवं देवत्रा सूर्यमगन्म ज्योतिरुत्तमम् ॥ RV I.50.10

A *Ṛṣi* is said to be a *Krāntadarśin. Krānta* means transcended. What does he transcend? First of all the limits of sensual perception, deliberate thinking and speculation. He is not an 'armchair philosopher' sitting and brooding, also not a scholar sitting at his study table speculating and writing. No, he is in a state in which time ceases to exist, space disappears. He is not bound by the limits of time and space: *kāla* and *dik*. These two he transcends. Past and future become present.

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All 'there' becomes 'here'. This is what is known as *krāntaḍṛṣṭi*. And when one is free from the shackles of time and space, one is in touch with that which is timeless, which is boundless: Something or Someone which/who lies beyond time and space: 'दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्न' as the philosophers put it and this is the point when one gets to realise the true nature of the things, the 'real' nature of the Reality, not coloured or disfigured by ones own subjective perception. This Reality is timeless and boundless - the eternal truth - a knowledge, or, better said, wisdom, which is valid for every age irrespective of changing times; also that which is boundless, valid not only for a particular region or a part of the earth, but for the whole world. Such is the Vedic wisdom, something which is for the use of entire humanity for all the times for the time that has been, for that which is current and also for that which is yet to come.

Let us now return to *pratibhā* and try to understand its core concept by examining its formation. The suffix *prati* is used in the sense of 'against' 'opposite' 'towards' and the root *bhā* means 'to shine', thus *pratibhā* is 'to shine towards someone'. A *Ṛṣi* does not pursue or chase the light; on the contrary, the light comes to him, shines forth towards him without his having to try to access it. According to our literary critics, one of the main characteristics of *pratibhā* is that it is *navanavonmeṣaśālinī* (प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा मता) 'ever giving rise to new flashes of light', 'making new revelations', always generating new ideas, new concepts. *Unmeṣa* is actually 'opening up of the eye' and in this context it refers to the act of unfolding itself to a new vision, a new idea, something which is not visible or perceptible with the physical eye. This internal perception is exactly that which takes place in the mind of a *Ṛṣi* and when he starts describing his unique perception in words, he becomes a *kavi* and the *kāvya* that he creates, never becomes obsolete, nor does it disappear in void:

देवस्य पश्य काव्यं, न ममार न जीर्यति ॥ AV X.8.32

However not everyone is competent or destined to comprehend the real purport and the inner meaning of the creation (i.e. *kāvya*) of a *Ṛṣi*. Firstly, because the person fails to rise to the level, reaching which the *Ṛṣi* has composed the *kāvya* and secondly the *ṛṣi-kavi,* not finding suitable words and expressions in the colloquial language to describe his experience, takes recourse to certain symbols,

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icons, similes and the like. His expressions are, so to say, couched in a coded language which to properly decode and get to its substance, one needs certain subjective experience and concerted effort leading to deep meditation (*sādhanā*).

May be, to achieve this one has to press into service the utterings of other *Ṛṣis* using similar expression in a more direct and simpler manner. There is no wonder when the goddess *Vāk* (Speech/Language/Voice) declares about herself that 'many get to hear her but they hear (Comprehend) her not; many get to see her, but they see her not; and that she reveals herself in her full beauty only to the blessed few, like a charmingly clad wife seeking love, reveals her physical beauty only to her husband by removing all coverings':

उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्त्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥ RV X.71.4

This process of realising the higher truth and of expressing it by composing it in well-chosen words, has been nicely described in the *Jñānasūkta* (X.71) of the *Ṛgveda*. The *Ṛṣi* realises the Truth in a transcendental state becoming one with the knower and the known, and when he descends a step lower in a semi-trance state, god Bṛhaspati, the lord of the speech, reveals him a series of words and expressions ('नामधेयं दधानः') with the help of which he could become capable of describing that transcendental experience, so that, that particular subjective realisation may come out of the 'cave' of his heart. The *Ṛṣi*, thereupon, with his intellect (*dhīḥ*) sifts trough those words like the one straining husk from the flour (lit. Gruel) with the help of a sieve (*titaü*) and selects the best expressions for his composition, which is why the speech of a *Ṛṣi* is endowed with beauty, grace and auspiciousness (*bhadra lakṣmī*):

बृहस्पते प्रथमं वाचो अग्रं यत्प्रैरत नामधेयं दधानाः ।
यदेषां श्रेष्ठं यदरिप्रमासीत्प्रेणा तदेषां निहितं गुहाविः ॥

सक्तुमिव तितउना पुनन्तो यत्र धीरा मनसा वाचमक्रत ।
अत्रा सखायः सख्यानि जानते भद्रैषां लक्ष्मीर्निहिताधि वाचि ॥ RV X.71.1,2

This opaque, or rather mysterious character of the Vedic language and verses has been turned into an advantage by the *Brāhmaṇa*-texts and also by the author of

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Nirukta (i.e. Yāska). Brāhmaṇas very often give fanciful etymologies of certain names of ritual objects and justify them with the maxim of 'परोक्षप्रिया वै देवाः प्रत्यक्षद्विषः' i.e. 'gods like the hidden and un-mani-fested and hate the visible and perceptible'. 'This is the reason why they do not ordinarily reveal themselves or their person to human beings,[2] nor their true nature, not even the meaning of their names to them'.

Yāska applies this principle of the *parokṣatā* of a divine being quite often to explain the formation of the names of gods. He gives, e.g., altogether 13 etymological explanations of the appellative Indra, many of which are, of course, rather farfetched or etymologically untenable. This desire of god to keep his true name (and its meaning) a secret, has a long history of universal folk-belief that if the true name of a person or god is known to someone, he may bring this person/god under his control by magic and spells."[3]

However since Yāska does not harbour any such intention, his commentator Durgācārya supports him in his intellectual pursuit of discovering the exact nature of a god by finding out the true etymology of his name, and defends his methodology with the following words:

'It is known from ancient authoritative statements that 'gods love the unmanifested and hate the manifested'. Everywhere, therefore, the god conceals his true nature and does not reveal it through his common and proper name [which is a grammatically difficult to understand], thus remaining unknown to the unauthorised (lit. 'non-scholarly') ones. However, the scholars (like Yāska)

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2. A devotee of Viṣṇu in the following verse taken from the *Ṛgveda* (VII. 100.6) requests Viṣṇu not to hide from him that special form known as *śipiviṣṭa* which he assumed in a battlefield (*samitha*):

   किमित ते विष्णो परिचक्ष्यं भूत प्रयद्भवक्षेशिपिविष्टो अस्मि ।
   मा वर्यो अस्मदपगूह रूतद्यदन्यरूपः समिथेबभूथ ॥

3. Cf. the story of *'Rumpelstilzchen* - the goblin' in the collection of the German folktales by Grimm brothers. The goblin loses his demonic powers as soon as one discovers his name.

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penetrate into his secret nature through etymological explanation of his name, contemplating on his nature by their divine vision. Therefore the best means to know the nature of god is through the etymological analysis of his appellative itself':

विजयते हि- परोक्षप्रिया वै देवाः, प्रत्यक्षद्विषः इति । सर्वत्रैवं देवताभिधेयेषु अभिधानत एव हि देवता आत्मनस् तत्त्वमन्तरीय व्यब्धाय आत्मानं, अविदुषं परोक्षीकृत्य नित्यं वर्तते । तं तु विद्वांसंस् तदभिधान-व्युतपत्ति-हारेण विवर्त्य दैवेन चक्षुष मनसोपजातदिव्यदृष्टचो ताद्भाव्यं प्रतिपाद्यन्ते, इति तदभिधान-व्युत्पत्तौ कृत्सनः पुरुषार्थ आहितः ॥

What *Durgācārya* means to say, is, that the Vedic *Ṛṣis* very cleverly and judiciously have given names and adjectives to the gods, appropriate to their nature and character which they (the *Ṛṣis*) have realised in the transcendental state of meditation upon them.

Following the principle, the first thing that comes to our mind is the term *devatā* itself. The prayers of a *Ṛṣi* are not directed towards any *deva*, but towards a *devatā*, which is an abstract noun of feminine gender. All *Anukramaṇīs* refer to the deity praised or described in a *Sūkta* as *devatā* and not *deva*. This *devatā* is different from *deva. Devatā* is the godliness of a god, his divine characteristics, qualities and personality. A *Ṛṣi* does not worship or praise a god *per se,* but his divinity, the *deitās* (Lat.=deity).

The word *deva* is derived from the root *div* which simply means 'the bright or the shining one' But this element of light is not the *light* in physical sense of the term. In the Vedas it is synonymous with intelligence, knowledge and also immortality. Darkness stands for ignorance and death; ''तमसो मा ज्योतिर्गमय'' is synonymous with, 'मृत्योर्मा अमृतं गमय'' exactly the same idea expressed, just in another words.

There are at least a dozen words in the Vedic language denoting both, the phenomenon of light as well as consciousness or mental awareness. The verb *cit,* for example is one of them. The root leads to many secondary formations: *cittam, cetas* is consciousness, life-substance; *ketu* is a streak or track of light; *cikitvān* is 'an intelligent person'. Agni is the bearer of light. It is the warmth of the body which denotes life whereas; coolness is death.

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What Durga says about the appellatives of Gods, holds true for a large number of Vedic words and Vedic expressions too, the exact connotation and the concept behind them is difficult to comprehend. In spite of the availability of good lexica on the Vedic language and the individual research papers of learned scholars, the exact meaning or nuance of a number of Vedic expressions (*e.g., vayunam, gātu, dhenā, brahman, bhargas, ucchiṣṭa, vrata, dharman, vrātya, puraṃdhi* and many more) has not been determined beyond all categories of doubt.

Many of the Vedic words which are commonly used in classical language as well, seem to have a different nuance or meaning in the Veda, *bandhuḥ, ratnam, dhīḥ, vasu, kratu, vājas, brahman, goḥ* and *manyuḥ* are only a few such examples. Aurobindo in his work *'On the Veda'* prefers to assign 'psychological' or 'spiritual' meaning to many of such words .

In the well-known hymn containing *Saramā-paṇi-saṃvāda* (RV X.108), 'Indra' according to Aurobindo is 'human mind' which is in need of *goḥ/gāvaḥ,* i.e., 'light of perfect knowledge' and which it strives to acquire through 'intuition' that is symbolised by the female dog *Saramā.* 'Fire' denotes according to him the undaunted 'will power' of human beings which is why it is always kept in front is पुरोहितम् (RV I.1.1).

Description of the characteristics of Vedic deities, their personal traits, exploits as well as the myths connected with them are also couched in such a symbolic language. The Purāṇas take up these myths and work them up into full-fledged legends.

The three steps of *Viṣṇu* (*'the penetrator', from the root vis'*) with which he traverses the whole space of earth, midregion and the sky (cf. इदं विष्णुर्वि चक्रमे, त्रेधा नि दधे पदम्, RV I.22.17; and विचक्रमाणस्त्रेधोरुगायः, RV I. 154.1 etc.) develops into the legend of the Dwarf-incarnation (*vāmanāvatāra*) of *Vīṣṇu* through the Brāhmaṇas and receives its most elaborate and exalted form in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (cf. VIII. 17-23) with king Bali added to the story.

Varāha (a boar) in the *Ṛgveda* is 'dark cloud' (probably contracted from *vār-vāha= carrier of water;* the Vedic word appears in the classical Sanskrit in the

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form of *balāha*[*ka*] in this very sense[4]) which is pierced by Indra shooting through a mountain (विध्यद्वराहं तिरो अद्रिमस्त) Thereafter boiled rice (or milk-rice) in his possession is said to have been 'stolen' (*muṣāyad*) by Viṣṇu, (मुषायद्विष्णुः पचतं सहीयान् RV I.61.7) The Prajāpati in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is also described as an *emūṣa varāha* who brings up the earthen globe sunken in the oceanic waters of deluge. (एतावती वा इयमासीत् प्रादेशमात्री तामेमूष इति वराह उज्जधान. SB XIV. 1.2.11) Later this *Varāha* becomes an incarnation of Viṣṇu and is credited to have salvaged the earth from beneath the ocean.

The story of drinking poison by *Śiva* and becoming consequently *Nīlakaṇṭha* also has its orgin in a few very vague references in the *Ṛgveda* in which a certain *Keśin* (reminds us of the *jaṭās* of Lord Śiva !) is said to have drunk *'viṣum'* (meaning *poison* and *water* both) together with Rudra :

वायुरस्मा उपामन्थत्पिनष्टि स्मा कुनन्नमा ।
केशी विषस्य पात्रेण यद्रुरेणापिवत्सह ॥ RV X.136.7

According to Yāska, supported by Śaunaka in the *Bṛhaddevatā*, this *'Keśin'* is the sun and the *keśa-s* are its *rays:* केशा रश्मयस्तैस्तद्वान् भवति । We hear of त्रयः केशिनः (three *Keśins*); well in the RV I.164.44, which is interpreted as three fires of sacrifice. That the word *keśin* has certainly to do something with heat, i.e. Fire and Sun (conceived as heavenly fire) is supported by the following *mantra* as well occurring in the *Ṛgveda:*

केश्यमिनं केशी विषं केशी बिभर्ति रोदसी ।
केशी विश्वं स्वर्दृशे केशीदं ज्योतिरुच्यते ॥ RV X.136.1

May be, the *viṣa-pāna* (drinking of poison) of *Keśī* along with Rudra (identical with Fire) is just a metaphorical description of the evaporation of water through solar heat or fire.

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4. One can still discern in this word the older form (in 'Zero-grade') of the word *vāri* (*vār/var*) here joined with a form of some root similar to √ *vah.* This may lead to an elliptical form of *'vārvāha'* contracted into *varāha.*

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In fact, a large part of the Vedic language and Vedic statements are symbolic or metaphorical and if one remains only at the level of its literal meaning, one is likely to miss its intended and the real meaning, Most of the religious literature of the ancient cultures is allegorical and uses a large number of metaphors to convey the religious truth and spiritual experience. The Vedic hymns were originally not meant to be recited to the gatherings of common people. They were primarily composed for gods and addressed to them in a couched language, that they love most; alternatively they were meant to be presented in an assembly of *Ṛṣis* who were well conversant with the mystic expressions and metaphors of their fellow-sages and hence could understand and appreciate them well. Being far away in time and space from the Vedic culture and also far away from the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the Vedic seers, we have to exert ourself hard today in order to penetrate into the domain of their thoughts, their mental set-up and their psyche, following the lead of later Vedic literature, commentaries and our own intuition.

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BHAIṢAJYA RELATED ACTIVITIES IN BUDDHIST MONASTIC ESTABLISHMENTS

Neeraj Kumar Mishra*

Abstract: Ancient Buddhist literature has varied descriptions related to the use of medicine in Buddhist *vihāras.* This tradition took the form of sanatoriums as it progressed, these *vihāras* not only received donations from various dynasties in Indian history, but also the general public supported them. These monasteries received donations for the arrangement of medicine, which are indicative of their importance. How this tradition developed and how it was propagated in neighbouring countries of India, these aspects have been analyzed in the study presented.

Keywords: Buddha, Buddhist *Saṁgha, Bhaiṣajya, Ārogyaśālā,* Inscriptions

According to the Indian tradition, God resides in the human body, so his service and well-being were also enumerated in the same way as the worship of God. As a basis of human life, this learning was equally accepted in all religious sects. In the Buddhist *Saṁgha,* this learning developed more as an important part of monk life. In the Buddhist tradition, Buddha himself was worshiped as a *Bhaiṣajya-guru* and *Mahābhiṣaka.* The sermon of the four Aryan truths propounded by him was also similar to the medical system respectively. Although Buddha did accept the evanescent nature of the world, but he also considered the present physical body as important for achieving *nirvāṇa.* He also stressed equally on keeping the body healthy and safe. The *Gilānapaccayabhesajja* means that the provision of medical care for the patient was part of the monastic life. The detailed compilation of the teachings and inspiration of *Bhaiṣajya* by him to the monks is contained in the

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Bhaiṣajya Khandhaka of *Vinaya Piṭaka (Rhys Davids & Oldenberg,* 41-61*)*. This entire chapter describes the laws made by Buddha for the treatment of monks suffering from various physical ailments. This account sheds light on medical related activities in the erstwhile Buddhist *vihāras.* Some of these examples are of special importance, such as - Buddha wanted to make such a medicine for the monks suffering from Autumnal disease, which the common people did not consider to be gross food. These were the five medicines - ghee, fresh butter, oil, honey, molasses (*Ibid,* 42). Buddha also granted permission to consume and keep the root of various medicinal plants such as turmeric, ginger, orris root, white orris root, garlic, black hellebore, poppy-seeds nut-grass for the purpose. At the same time, the sick monks were also allowed to keep a (lower) grindstone, a (small) grindstone for the need of grounded medicines. Buddha also prescribed drugs containing astringents for the monks. He also granted permission for the monks to consume neem-leaves, *kuṭaja*-leaves, cucumber-leaves, basil-leaves, cotton-tree leaves and fruits like vidang, pippali, harra, bahera, amla, etc. Apart from this, hingu, hingu-resin, hingu-gum and salts medicines are also allowed to be taken (*Ibid*, 48). Buddha gave permission for the skin disease to be coated with dung, clay, boiled colouring matter. He allowed use of black collyrium, rasa-ointment, sota-ointment, yellow-ochre, lamp-black, as anjan when the monk suffered from eye disease . It was also permissible to consume fat of fish, bears, swine, alligators etc. as per requirement and to consume four *Mahāvikaṭa* (Dung, urine, ashes, clay) in snakebite, to keep oil on headache and to cook oil in case of rheumatism. In some formidable ailments, the law of drinking alcohol and raw meat was also done by Buddha. Apart from this, *Swedakarma,* surgery and ointment bandage were also prescribed for incurable diseases (*Ibid*, 48-51). Buddha's instruction was that the service of the sick monks was similar to the service of the Buddha and the routine of the sick monks was also prescribed by the him (*Ibid*, 51-61). Monks suffering from serious and contagious diseases were probably kept in the *Glānśālā,* as a result of which the infection of the disease did not spread to other monks. We can equate it with the present quarantine centers. They also had access to clothing and bathing waivers (*Dubey Sitaram,* 271). Thus, the amendment of the rules by Buddha was a sign of his humanity and generosity towards the sick. But he always contemplated the ideal of monk-life before giving permission to *Bhaiṣajya,* and also provided punishment for misbehaviour related to the use of

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medicines and accession of luxury items. He allowed the monks to possess and consume the *Bhaiṣajya* for at least a week. In violation of this, the provision of punishment according to religion was also made.

This form of Buddha was a great model. It must have impacted the society of that time. In Buddhist literature, there are many descriptions of upper-class worshipers, as well as the general public, always abreast for the treatment of the sick. Worshipers coming to the *vihāras* with desire to listen to the sermons of the Buddha, often came with ingredients like ghee, honey, molasses, etc. Providing diet for the patient was considered to be the path to achieve the goal of *Dānapāramitā* in Buddhism (Sharma Archana, 85-86).

The ruling class and wealthy donors also played an important role in the development of the Buddhist Monastic system. These donations were for the fulfillment of other essential materials of the Buddhist *vihāras* as well as for the management of the *Bhaiṣajya.* A more practical description of this sentiment is found in epigraphic evidence.

The first epigraphic evidence of the king arranging the medicine is found in the Major Rock Edict II of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka, mentioning that he built hospitals for humans as well as animals, not only in his kingdom but also in his neighbouring states like Chōdas, Pāṇḍya, the Satiyaputa, Keralaputa, Tāmraparṇī and Yavan states. Apart from this, plantation work was done where there were no human-friendly and animal-friendly medicines (Hultzch E. 1905-1906, 88-89). This example is the best in itself, where an emperor strives for the welfare and well-being of all living beings. Although there is no clear description of the donation of medicine in Buddhist *vihāras* here, this management was for the whole public. But it is a well-known fact that Aśoka had sent monks to different areas for the promotion of Buddhism, so it is possible that with the promotion of religion, these monks may have also assisted in the propagation of *Bhaiṣajya* in the society. In this way, along with the development of Buddhist *Saṁgha,* healing activities were also being performed in the Buddhist *vihāras,* which also led to the development of *Ārogyasālās.* It is possible that these would have been accessible to the general public as well as Buddhist monks. We also find some evidence of such Buddhist *vihāras* in the inscriptions. For example, in the archaeological

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antiquities of Nagarjunikonda, the inscription engraved on the *Vihāra* wall gives a description of *"Vihāra mukhya vigata jvarālaya"*. Although D. C. Sircar (1963-64, 17-18) accepts it as a normal Buddhist *Vihāra,* some scholars (Zysk, 44) consider this *Vihāra* as the place of treatment for a patient suffering with fever. Another evidence of the co-existence of the *Ārogyaśālā* with the Buddhist *Vihāra* is found in the inscription engraved on a sealing obtained from the excavation of the Kumrahar (Altekar, 1959, 103). The mention of *"Sri Ārogyavihāre Bhikshu Saṁghasya"* here gives a clear example of the existence of *Ārogyaśāla* with the *Vihāra.*

These Buddhist *vihāra* received donations from the ruling class as well as the worshipers for the management of medicine. The Nasik inscription of Ishwarsen (Hultzch, E. 1905-1906, 88-89) is important in this perspective, in which Vishnudatta Namni, *Upāsika,* has arranged *Gilānabheṣaja* (medicine for the sick) for the monks in the *Vihāra* situated on Mount Triraśmi by depositing some amount of money in the form of *Akṣayanivī* to the four guilds located in Govardhan. Another evidence of such donation is Guṇaighar copper-plate of Vainyagupta (Mukherji, R. & Maity S. K., 1967, 65-70). In this inscription, king Vainyagupta, on the request of Maharaja Rudra-datta, gave land to the Avalokiteśvara *Vihāra* of the Buddhist *Mahāyāna Vaivartik* sect. The purpose of the donation was to make arrangements of medicines for diseases in addition to the management of the materials related to the clothing and food. Another such evidence is in the Valabhī copper-plate (Bühlar, 1875, 104-106) of Dhruvasen I, the Maitraka dynasty ruler of Valabhī. In this inscription, there is a description of the village donation by the ruler to fulfill the remedial needs of the sick monks, besides the renovation of the Duḍḍā *Vihāra* established by his sister's daughter Duḍḍā and the provision of food, clothing, worship materials for the monks living there. In the inscription Duḍḍā has been called *Paramopāsikā* and Dhruvasen's ancestors have been called *Paramamāheśvarā* and Dhruvasen himself is called *Paramabhāgavatā.* This example is an indicative of the religious tolerance of the king. The copper-plate inscription of Pṛthvī Śrimūlarāja (Gai 1976, 192-196) also gives details of donations of some villages for the provision of food, beds and medicines to the Buddhist *Mahāvihāra.* The Tummalagudem (Rama Rao 1976, 28-35) grant of Viṣṇukuṇḍi ruler Mahāraja Govindavarman (year 37) describes

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the king donating the Erlapāḍu and Peṅkapparru villages to the Buddhist *Saṁgha* for arrangements related to *dīpa, dhūpa* and *Bhaiṣajya.* The Talcher copper-plate (Mishra B., 1934, 41-50) inscription of Bhaumkara ruler Śubhakara Dev III of Odisha describes the village donation for the management of medicines, clothes, etc. for the monks in the temple of Buddhabhaṭṭāraka (Buddha) near Jayāśrama *Vihāra.* The Nālandā copper-plate (Sarcar 1983, 72-76) inscription of Devapāla (812-850 AD) makes a very important reference in this perspective. It is mentioned in the inscription that on the request of Śailendra ruler Balāputradeva, Devapāla gave permission to construct a *vihāra* in Nālandā. Apart from this, donations of Nandivanāka and Maṇivāṭaka villages of Rājgṛha were also done by the king for the purpose of worshiping, shelter, garments, alms and for the management of *Bhaiṣajya.* In this way, Buddhist *vihāras* continued to receive donations for the arrangement of medicines. Monks were also taught medicine along with other disciplines. According to I-tsing (Takakusu, Junjirō 1896, 127-128) and Xuanzang (Dutt Sukumar 1962, 332-333), Chinese travelers who visited India, five sciences were also taught in Buddhist monasteries along with religious knowledge, including medical science.

The *Vaidyas* had contact with Buddhist monasteries right from the beginning. We get a description of the surgery of a monk by *Vaidya* Ākāsagotta (Davids & Oldenberg 1882, 191-195) of Rājgṛha. *Vaidya* Gīvaka Komārbhakka (*Ibid,* 191-195) himself treated the Buddha and the monks many times. His fame had increased, so the sick people started to enter in *Saṁgha* as monks for treatment. As a result, Buddha prohibited the patient's entry into the monk form. Certain epigraphical evidences also provide details related to donations by Physicians and *Vaidyas* to the Buddhist *Saṁgha.* From which it can be inferred that they must also have cooperation in the medical activities being conducted in the *Saṁgha.* An inscription from the Kuda cave group describes the donation made to the Buddhist *Saṁgha* by physician Somdev (Burgess & Bhagvanlal 1976, 12-13), the son of Māmkavjejya physician Isirakhita. References to donations by Royal physician and his family members are found in three inscriptions received from the Pitalkhora caves (*Ibid,* 40-41). Similarly, the name of *Vaidya* Nann (Gokhale 1991, 45) is also mentioned in the names of the donors engraved in Kanheri cave No. 02.

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This tradition of arranging *Bhaiṣajya* and *Ārogyaśālās* with Buddhist *vihāras* reached other neighbouring countries through India. The detailed evidence of the construction and management of the *Ārogyaśālās* built by him in the commendatory records of Jaya-varman VII, the great ruler of the pre-medieval Kambuja country, is in itself incomparable. The Ta-Prohm (Majumdar 1953, 459-475) inscription of the King of Kambuja is important in this perspective. At the beginning of the inscription there is the worship of Buddha, *Dharma, Saṁgha,* then the king describes the construction of 117 health centers and 689 dispensaries. A comprehensive list of donations of honey, wax, long pepper, alkali, carom seeds, camphor, ginger, cardamom, ghee and other medicinal plants is obtained in the inscription. Similarly, the Say-Fong (*Ibid,* 492-502) inscription of Jaya-varman VII also provides a good example of the construction and medical management of *Ārogyaśālās* by the state treasury. The king himself expresses sorrow for the ailments of the subjects and appoints qualified *Āyurvedācārya* and physicians in these sanatoriums. These *Ārogyaśālās* were in the courtyard of *Sugatālaya* (Temple of Buddha) and were equally available for the four *varṇas.* In these sanatoriums, many medicines were donated by the state.

In countries such as Tibet, China, Japan, Manchuria, etc., Buddha himself developed into a famous Buddhist deity as a physician. It is believed that touching the statue of Buddha gives effective treatment. This form of Buddha in China is known as *Yaō-shih-fo (Bhaiṣajya-guru), 'Yaku-shi'* in Japan and *'Manal'* in Tibet. In *'Manal'* form, he has fruit in his right hand and medical vessel in his left hand. In the form of *Yaku-Xi,* there is a medicine vessel in the left hand and right hand in *Abhaya Mudrā* (Getty, 1914, 23-24). There were reports of worshiping this form of Buddha in Japan and China during the COVID-19 pandemic, some new studies describe the relevance of this form of Buddhism at present. Tomoko Kubotani and David Engstrom in his recent studies throws light on how Buddhist temples are taking care of patients affected by HIV/AIDS infection in Thailand (Kubotani, 2005). The present-day Buddhist monasteries have isolated themselves and are particularly interested in teaching people only Vipassana meditation. But their history has been very advanced with medicinal knowledge. There have been many attempts to bring this history to the table, if Buddhist monasteries start

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spreading their knowledge related to medicine among the general public. Then there will be a favourable effect on the health-related activities of the country.

Conclusion: In this way, the permission and teaching of *Bhaiṣajya* by Buddha started the activities related to *Bhaiṣajya* in Buddhist monasteries. Possibly it also developed monk-practitioners, which led to the sanatorium in these Buddhist *vihāras*. Certainly, this sanatorium must have been accessible to the common people also living there. The administrative class, worshipers and donors helped to keep this feature of Buddhist *vihāras* intact. For spiritual donors, this donation was helpful in fulfillment of charity. In addition, these Buddhist *vihāras* were usually located near major trade routes. These were also the best place for the shelter of the traders who went on a long journey. It is possible that they used to get treatment of physical ailments along with spiritual knowledge. Along with Buddhism, this tradition reached other neighbouring countries as well and provided the benefit of *Bhaiṣajya* to the general public along with the monks.

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THE "ABHIJÑĀNA-ŚAKUNTALĀ" – 225 YEARS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

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Abstract: *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* or *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* or "*Abhijñāna-śakuntalā*" to be correct, is the best representative of the richness of Sanskrit literature. But the printed text what we get to read has a long-long history of text transmission through manuscripts and stage-directors. Even after 225 years of its printed edited version, we are not sure whether what we got is the original "*Śākuntalam*" or a interpolited one ! The title of the play is also conflicted. In this article I have to tried to analyse all the probable points of Varints in the existing editions while preparing a Citical Edition of the play.

Keywords: *Abhijñānaśākuntalam, Devanāgarī-Maithilī-Kashmiri-Bangali-Dakṣinatya* recensions, *Śakuntalā, Śāradā Scripts, Kālidāsa, Sakuntala, Abhigyana, Shakuntal, Vasantkumar Bhatt.*

Introduction: Sir William Jones translated the Bengali version of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* (Jones 1789) It was the first English translation among the European languages. The western world became aware of the richness of Sanskrit literature through this translation only, and ultimately it created sudden and tremendous interest for the Indological study. The western world is now curious to explore not only the Sanskrit literature, but the whole Indian heritage. This paper tries to discuss the journey of textual criticism of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā* only, because this drama stands first in the first line of all Indological studies. There are more than hundred efforts to edit and publish the text (and translations) of this

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drama world over, since 1789 A. D. But so far as the question of textual criticism of this drama is concerned, no such effort has been satisfactory in one way or the other till date! Only a few scholars have notably contributed to textual criticism during the last 225 years, namely Dr. Richard Pischel (1876), Prof. P. N. Patankar (1898), Prof. Balavantraya K. Thakore (1919), Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (1923 to 1965), Prof. Deelipkumar Kanjilal (1980) and lastly Vasantkumar Bhatt (2013 – 2018). The first translation by Sir William Jones was published in 1789, and now we are in first quarter of the 21st century. A long period of two hundred twenty five years has gone by, so it's high time to review the total efforts done in this area.

Literary Criticism vis-ā-vis Textual Criticism : The literary world was astonished when a German poet Goethe raptured on reading the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* and wrote four lines of appreciation[1], then, *Gurudeva* Rabindra Nath Tagore, the Nobel laureate poet of India, has written an article entitled- "Śakuntalā : it's Inner Meaning;"(Dasgupta 1920) every literary person of past or present is bound to be impressed with his literary criticism. Subsequently nobody bothers to think of textual criticism of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam.* But if the textual criticism of this drama take place first, then there is a scope to yield new literary criticism. Unfortunately, Sanskrit students are taught literary criticism first and textual criticism is introduced later in our syllabi, which is damaging and fruitless pedagogy. As the doctrine of sovereign immunity originated with the axiom that "Any Literary criticism of ancient or medieval period text must be preceded by Textual criticism." Ironically, Sanskrit academicians do not follow this pedagogy. In the present scenario, grammatical operation, lexicography and literary criticism is taught first, and textual criticism may or may not be taught later. Sometimes many students, especially in traditional *pāṭhaśālās,* miss an opportunity to know a bit of textual criticism during their entire study period.

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1. "Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of it's decline, And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed, Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one name combine ? I name thee, O Śakuntalā ! and all at once is said." – A History of the Sanskrit Literature, by V. Varadachari, Tirupati, p. 147

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[1]

Editing Various Recensions : A critically edited text of this drama was not available when Sir William Jones had translated it. He was not even aware of different versions of it. He might have chosen a text randomly from Bengal. His English translation was further translated into French (by A. Bruguiere, Paris, 1803, and by P. L. Chezy, 1830) and later on into German too (by George Forster, 1791).

1 – 1, It is interesting to know the history of critical editions of this drama. We have received five recensions from different scholars: (1) Dr. Richard Pischel collected five Bengali manuscripts of this drama and prepared a critical edition of the "Bengali Recension" in 1877. It was the first critical edition of this drama. The Harvard University Press has also published it's second edition (Pischel 1922) (2) Dr. Otto Boehtlingk published a critical edition of the *Devanāgarī* recension, in 1842 A. D. This *Devanāgarī* recension contains a shorter text of this drama. Subsequently, Monier Williams got some more manuscripts from India Office Library, London and he has given a better[2] (second) critical edition of this *Devanāgarī* recension in 1855 A. D. Prof. P. N. Patankar attempted the same recension for the third time (in 1898 A.D.), and claimed that he had prepared "the Purer *Devanāgarī* Recension" of the *"Abhijñāna-śakuntalam."* (the second edition in 1905 A.D.) (3) The so called Southern recension of this drama was published in 1842, with the commentary of Kāṭaya-vema in Telugu script. (4) Dr. G. Bühler collected a birch bark manuscript, written in *Śāradā* script of Kashmir, from Srinagar in 1875[3]. This *Śāradā* manuscript[4] (number-192) was transliterated into Roman script by Karl Burkhard in1884. He claimed that there is a fourth recension of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* after studying this single manuscript.

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2. I have succeeded in producing a more correct edition of the *Devanāgarī* recension, than those of Dr. Boehtlingk and Dr. Burkhard, the merit is due to the more ample materials at my command. M.W. Introduction, p. 8
3. Detailed Report of a Tour in Search of Sanskrit MSS. (in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India) by G. Bűhler, Asiatic Society, Bombay, 1877.
4. *Die Kashmirer Cakuntala,* Roman Transcription of a *Bhurja-patra,* no. 192, Ed. Karl Burkhard, Wien, 1884.

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Subsequently Prof. S. K. Belvalkar's so called Kashmiri recension was also published by Dr. V. Raghavan, General Editor of the *Central Sahitya Academy,* Delhi in1965. Unfortunately, Prof. S. K. Belvalkar could not write introduction due to his old age. So we cannot know about his critical apparatus, e. g. manuscript material etc. But it seems that he had utilized only one *Śāradā* manuscript. So, Prof. Vasantkumar M. Bhatt, has prepared a critical text edition of this Kashmiri recension. I have utilized five *Śāradā* manuscripts for my critical edition. (Bhatt 2018) This is the third attempt to edit the Kashmiri recension critically after 1884 A. D. (5) The fifth, *Maithilī* recension of this drama was prepared by Prof. Rama Nath Jha (1957). In this *Maithilī* recension, Prof. Rama Nath Jha has also given two commentaries of Śaṅkara and Narahari.

1 – 2, Here one can observe that more than one attempt have been done to edit the Bengali, the *Devanāgarī* and the Kashmiri recensions. But no one has attempted to publish a critical edition of South Indian recension, based on multiple manuscripts written in Telugu, *Nandi-nāgarī, Grantha,* and Malyalam scripts yet. Though majority of the commentaries on *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* were written in South India, it's critical edition is still awaited.

1 – 3, These five types of text traditions / versions are designated as "recensions" on the bases of different scripts of different regions only. Scholars have distinguished two types of texts of this drama, e. g. one text preserved in longer version and another in shorter version. A longer version can be seen in the Bengali, the *Maithilī* and the Kashmiri recensions. And a shorter version can be seen in the *Devanāgarī* and South Indian recensions. It is interesting to note that there are three variants in the title of this drama: The Kashmiri recensions reads it as *"Abhijñāna-śakuntalā"*, the *Maithilī* and Bengali read it as *"Abhijñāna-śakuntalam"*, and in the *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Devanāgarī* recensions, it is- *"Abhijñāna-śākuntalam."* Each title suggests some different focal point of the drama. It should also be noted that scholars did not pay attention to find out some basic points of differences critically among these five recensions.

[2]

2 – 0 - 1, Commentaries and Some Allied Works on The Text of this Drama : Before going into the detailed discussion of these five recensions, I would like to

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enumerate some points regarding the South Indian version of this drama and it's commentary works, which are unpublished and preserved in manuscripts only. (1) Majority of the commentary works on this drama are written in South India only, but the first is written by Kāṭaya-vem in 15th century only. (2) The South Indian commentaries of Kāṭaya-vema, Abhirāma, Śrī-Nivāsa, anonymous Carcā, Ghanaśyāma and Nīlakaṇṭha are published so far. There are two commentaries on Maithilī recension, written by Śaṅkara and Narahari. One major commentary on the *Devanāgarī* recension by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa is also published long back. A remarkable commentary, e.g. *Sandarbha-Dīpikā,* on the Bengali recension by Chandra-shekhara Chakravarti (though the existence of two manuscripts of this commentary was mentioned by Richard Pischel in 1876) is published (Bhatt 2013). But many other commentaries are laying in various manuscript libraries, and waiting for their turn to be published ! (3) We do not know whether any other recension of this drama exists in the *Newārī* or *Oriyā* script too. (4) There are some unpublished manuscripts for Sanskrit rendering *(Sanskrit-chāyā-nuvāda)* of Prakrit dialogues of this drama, viz. *"Prākṛta-vivṛti"* in manuscript libraries. But most of them have adopted the text of shorter version for this purpose. (5) We do not have total survey of dramatic transformations and poetical translations in local Indian languages[5] of this drama. If we have all these enumerated details with us, it could be of a great help in the textual criticism of the *Abhijñāna-śakutalā;* or rather it could be of a great help in preparing a *"variorum edition"* of this drama. A *variorum* edition[6] itself will serve as a kind of textual criticism.

Here, it is interesting to note that on the occasion of bicentenary of Sir William Jones's birth (1746 to 1946) the Royal Asiatic Society of Kolkata had called a

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5. For example : Gangadhara Mehera's poetry : *"Praṇaya-vallarī"*, an adaption of *Abhi. Śākuntalam* in *Oriyā* language.

6. A *variorum*, short for *(editio) cum notis variorum*, is a work that collates all known variants of a text. It is a work of textual criticism, whereby all variations and emendations are set side by side so that a reader can track how textual decisions have been made in the preparation of a text for publication. The Bible and the works of William Shakespeare have often been the subjects of *variorum* editions, although the same techniques have been applied with less frequency to many other works. (Wikipedia)

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meeting, which was headed by Prof. Kshetreshchandra Chattopadyay. In this meeting there was a proposal[7] (Chatto padhyay 1948, 147) to prepare a "Variorum Edition of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam*" ! (This meeting was attended by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, Dr. S. M. Katre, Dr. Nag etc. in 1946.) They had such discussion, but no concrete work in this direction has been carried out till date.

2 – 0 – 2, In the first All India Oriental Conference, which was held at B. O. R. I. Poona, in 1919, Prof. Balavantaray Kalyanaray Thakore (Professor of History, at the Deccan College, and a Gujarati Poet) presented a research paper : (Thakor 1922) "The text of *Śakuntalā* ". In this paper he has propounded his theory : "Even our oldest MSS of the play are very modern. If we leave the matter entirely to the orthodox methods of the mere Sanskrit scholar, we can advance no further than three *Śakuntalās,* - 1. *Devanāgarī,* 2. Bengali, and 3. the *Kashmiri.* Cultured humanity cannot tolerate three divergent *Śakuntalā* or even two. It must have one single definitive *Śakuntalā* acceptable to all competent judges. And above all, in Kālidāsa we are dealing with an author about whom we can assert categorically that if we can only discover from amongst the variants before us that one which is unquestionably the beautiful, the most pregnant, the most appropriate and the most dramatic, that one is also unquestionably what Kālidāsa must have written, and the others. This, at any rate, is the principle of selective comparison I advocate". (Section-1, page :5) He was of the opinion that we should prepare a text on eclectic principles and without any delay. But he did not prepare a text of this drama according to his views. (He has only translated this drama into *Gujarātī* language, in 1906.) This kind of texts may have some logical ground, but it cannot be absolutely free from the subjectivity. So, any kind of textual criticism should be based on the documentary evidence. Otherwise any edition which is based on eclectic principles, will not be acceptable for everyone.

However, it is notable that Prof. Kanjilal admires him: "Mr. B.K. Thakore, who was *the first* man to venture a thought–provoking and all-round approach to the problem." (p. 3) It is a fact that his ardent voice for a reconstructed text is not

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7. It is therefore, right and proper that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal should decide to commemorate the bicentenary of Sir William by launching a scheme for a *variorum* edition of this drama

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heard properly by the Indologists. It is way past time that we pay attention to his words. (1919-2019)

[3]

3 – 0 – 0, Evaluation of Critical Editions of Various Recensions : I will deal with all five recensions as mentioned in the prior (1–1) section. My evaluation will mainly be focused on the achievement and shortcomings of textual criticism in these critically edited recensions.

3 – 1 - 1, A Critical Edition of the Bengali Recension : We are thankful to Dr. Richard Pischel for giving us a critical edition of this drama. But at the outset of this discussion on his Bengali recension, I should say that due to my ignorance of German language, I do not know about his specific views on - (a) a journey of the text of this drama as shown by him, and (b) independent features of this Bengali recension, (c) Prof. Weber was not in favour of any "recension" of this drama [8]. Later on Prof. Richard Pischel had given some reaction / rejection on Prof. Weber's opinion. But I am unable to read their debate as it is published in German language.

3 – 1 – 2 Whatever I can see through his critical edition of the Bengali recension is put together in three nutshells –

(a) He has normalized the Prakrit language structure as per requirement of the *Śaurasenī* Prakrit grammar. The reconstructed Prakrit portion of the drama is a remarkable success.

(b) But there are many lapses in his *critically edited* text. At places there are some missing portions and contradictory statements. For example –

1. In the fourth act, Anasūyā narrates sorrowing situation created in the hermitage of Kaṇva *Muni,* while the heroine, Śakuntalā is ready to depart from the

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8. Prof. Weber has questioned the reasonability of using the term "recension" with reference to the regional texts of the *Śakuntalam.* See : Indische Studien, 14-35, ff. 161-311.

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place. Here, after verse no.18, there should be some reaction from *Śakuntalā*. But that dialogue is missing.

2. In the beginning of the second act, we are told that the king enters on the stage alone. But in a later scene he orders his servants to go away from the stage[9] !

3. In the sixth act, according to the Kashmiri and *Maithilī* recensions, two maid servants are there, e.g. Medhāvinī and Piñgalikā. Here, the Bengali recension reads: Caturikā, instead of Medhāvinī. But the Viduṣaka has used the name, Medhāvinī, instead of Caturikā (on page no. 86) ! The learned editor could not detect this contradiction in the transmitted text of Bengal, or rather he missed to see it.

(c) He could not detect some obvious interpolations also. For example:-

1. One and same idea is repeated in two verses in third act. *(Adyāpi nūnam hara-kopa-vahni 0 3-3 & Hara-kopāgni-dagdhasya* 0 3-34).

2. In the third act, Śakuntalā points out the presence of *Ṛṣis* in the hermitage by saying : *Porava, rakkha viṇaam, ido tado isavo sancanti.* After listening the caution, this aristocrat hero was supposed to go back in the hut surrounded by creepers with a note that *"katham prakāśam nirgato'smi ?"* But between these dialogues, there is an interpolation of a verse :- *Gāndhrveṇa vivāhena.* (p. 37, second edition)

These exemplified three (a, b and c) shortcomings of the Bengali text are remarkable because all of them are existing even after conducting the "Lower Criticism" by Dr. Richard Pischel. This kind of text, which emerges as a result of lower criticism, compels a text critic to attempt some "Higher Criticism." I have attempted this kind of higher criticism of the Bengali text, when I have edited the commentary of Chandrashekhar Chakravartti, viz. *Sandarbha-dīpikā* (Bhatt 2013, 32-93).

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9. *Eṣo baṇāsana-hattho ... āgacchadi piavaasso.* (p.17), then *"(parijana-mavalokya) mṛigayāveṣamanayantu bhavantaḥ"* (p.21) Dr. Pischel's second edition.

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3 – 1 – 3, Another Critical Text Edition of the Bengali Recension :- Dr. Deelip Kumar Kanjilal has put his all efforts to edit "a reconstructed text" of this drama. He has utilized many unknown and unused manuscripts of this drama; along with various citations of this drama. He claimed that he has prepared a "Reconstructed Text of *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam"* (Kanjilal 1980). Here, he has given a long introduction to prove that the longer (Bengali) version of this drama was prevalent even before the 10th century. On the basis of these external evidences, he urges that – "If evidences testify to the existence of the alleged enlarged version before the 10th century, it would be proper for us in the 20th century to accept the same as more authentic than any interpretative reconstruction." (Kanjilal 1980, 132).

3 – 1 – 4, Dr. Kanjilal consulted some *Śāradā* manuscripts for his "Reconstructed Text," which were available to him at the Bodleian Library, Oxford University. But he did not approve their independent value. However, those *Śāradā* manuscripts reserve the heritage of independent text tradition of Kashmiri recension.

3 – 1 – 5, Dr. Kanjilal has analyzed all the available recensions. He has shown that there are three types of manuscripts of *Devanāgarī* recension. Some of them contain a longer version, other manuscripts bare a mixture text and some manuscripts have a retrenched text only. But none of the editors of the *Devanāgarī* recension, including Otto Bohtalingk, Monier Williams, P. N. Patankar and Pt. Shri Rewaprasada Dwivediji of Varanasi, has noticed the three types of *Devanāgarī* manuscripts.

3 – 1 – 6, Dr. Kanjilal has also discussed the journey of the text. According to his opinion, the existing text tradition was originated from the Bengali recension. The Kashmiri text is generated to gather from the Bengali and the *Newārī* texts. The mix and retrenched text of *Devanāgarī* recension is created from that Kashmiri text. The South Indian text of this drama is prepared with the help of Bengali and retrenched *Devanāgarī* texts at last stage. We can summarize his hypothesis by giving sequential order to these various texts :-The Bengali text stood first in chronological succession, the Kashmiri text stood second, the *Devanāgarī* text stood third and the South Indian text stood fourth. But he did not support this

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recurrent pattern by some internal evidences. He also kept silence over the chronological order of the Mithilā text.

3 – 1 – 7, His "reconstructed text" is also not free from those shortcomings, which are there in Dr. Richard Pischel's edition ! (See : section – 3-1-2) The presence of these shortcomings even in a "reconstructed text" of Dr. D. K. Kanjilal, leads us to conclude that higher criticism still did not take place properly.

3 – 2 – 1, The text of *Devanāgarī* recension of this drama is widely popular among general learners and readers of Sanskrit literature. There are three notable critically edited texts of this recension. But none of them is satisfactory. Otto Bohtalingk and Monier William had consulted not more than six manuscripts for their critical editions. In the third attempt, Prof. P. N. Patankar had utilized nine *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, nine published editions and some commentaries for his critical edition and claimed that it's the "Purer *Devanāgarī* Recension of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam*" (published in 1889). But this claim is not acceptable, because, to purify the transmitted text of *Devanāgarī*, he fully consulted Dr. Karl Burkhard's (1884) Roman transliteration of the *Śāradā* birch-bark manuscript (no.192) at each stage. Consequently, his critical text turns into an "Eclectic text" ! It will be interesting to note some examples of this eclectic text:-

1. He has accepted the name of *Viduṣaka* as "Mādhavya", instead of "Māḍhvya". Here invariably every *Devanāgarī* manuscripts read the Prakrit word "Maḍhavya" in the Sanskrit dialogues of Duṣyanta. But the Sanskrit word accepted by Prof. Patankar is available in *Śāradā* manuscript (no. 192) only.

2. In the third act, Śakuntalā says to her friends : If you approve of it, proceed in such a way that I shall be an object of compassion of the saintly king. Otherwise, pour me the water (of my funeral obsequies). *Aṇṇhā siñcadha me udaam.* (p. 60) This is the variant of Kashmiri recension. Here each and every *Devanāgarī* manuscripts read *tilodaam,* not *udaam.*

3. In the beginning of the fourth act, there is an episode of curse of Durvāsā. In all available *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, Priyamvadā goes to *Maharṣi* Durvāsā to beg for some relaxation in the curse. But in the text, edited by Prof. Patankar, it is Anasūyā, who goes to beg for that relaxation. He has accepted this variant from

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the *Śāradā* manuscript. (Prof. Patankar has given a foot-note on page no. 81: "a. This and subsequent speeches, up to the stage direction, are given according to A (i.e. manuscript no.192) and F (i. e. a Bengali text)".

3 – 2 – 2, It is noteworthy that in Monier William's critically edited text also, the same kind of mixture can be seen easily. For example :-

1. In the second act, a messenger, Karabhaka, enters and says : "The Queen-mother directs you that on the fourth day from this my particular fast, e. g. *Putra-piṇḍa pālana,* will end with the feast. There the Long-lived one should be present without fail." (M. W., p. 90) This is the Bengali reading only. The *Devanāgarī* recension has a different reading here. The name of that fast in the *Devanāgarī* recension is *"pravṛtta-pāraṇo"*

2. In the third act, Priyamvadā says : "Friend, let a love-letter of hers be prepared. I shall hand it over to him, concealed among flowers, under the pretext of a gift from the worship of the deities." Here, in the *Devanāgarī* recension the word *Devatā-prasāda* is used for the gift. But Monier William has accepted a different word, e.g. *Devatā-śeṣāpadeśa* for the gift. Once again, this reading belongs to the Bengali recension !

Prof. Monier William has utilized four *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, and two Bengali manuscripts. He has consulted three commentaries, written by 1. Kāṭayavema, 2. Śaṅkara and 3. Candraśekhara. He has also clarified in the introductory note (page : 10) that he never failed to consult the three commentaries before deciding on the reading of his text. But, as we know none of them is written on the text of *Devanāgarī* recension ! And Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary, which is written on the *Devanāgarī* recension, was not available (in either printed or manuscript form) to him ! Though unintentionally, but his "critical edition" also became an "Eclectic Text" !

One more point of his introduction attracts the readers. He has pointed out that the *Devanāgarī* recension is thought by most scholars to be older and purer. (page - 7) To justify this opinion, he hypothetically writes : "the MSS. of the *Devanāgarī* class chiefly found in the Upper Provinces of India, where the great demand has produced copyists without scholarship, who have faithfully transcribed what they

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did not understand, and, therefore, could not designedly alter. On the other hand, the copyists in Bengal have been *Paṇḍitas*, whose *cocoethes* for amplifying and interpolating has led to much repetition and amplification". (page -7) But this kind of assumption cannot be accepted in the field of textual criticism as a final evidence. A critic is supposed to support his hypothesis by some other evidences. And a critic of a dramatic text should also think about some possibility of a "stage script" ! It is quite possible that Kālidāsa might have written a longer version of this drama in origin, and later on, some unknown stage directors might have prepared an abridged text of the same to enact the play. It is quite possible that this type of abridged stage version might have been transmitted into these *Devanāgarī* manuscripts. So, one of the canons of a textual criticism : "a shorter text is more authentic / preferable than a longer text", or "textus simplicior is earlier than the textus ornatior" may not be true for the text of a drama. The quoted canon is applicable to a text of Puranic literature or ancient epics.

3 – 2 – 3, Carl Cappeller (Leipzig) (1909) has also critically edited / reconstructed the text of *Devanāgarī* recension. The text of this drama is printed in *Devanāgarī*[10]. This is a unique attempt of reconstruction of the *Devanāgarī* text and deserves some special appreciation and comment. (1) Prof. Carl Cappeller has accepted only 189 verses. He has removed some verses, which were connected / presented by *api ca* and *tathāhi*. These types of verses are considered as gross interpolations by him ! For example : *antrahite śaśini saiva kumudvati* of the fourth act is removed. (2) The remarkable verse, e. g. *gandharvena vivāhen* of the third act is also removed, and (3) in the fourth act, he has restored one Prakrit *gāthā*, which is a dialogue of *Śakuntalā*. (It is noteworthy here that three *gāthās* are preserved only in Kashmiri and *Maithilī* recensions, but Cappeller has restored one new *gāthā* from a prose dialogue of Śakuntalā.)

I can not agree with the approach to remove all those verses, which are connected or introduced by *api ca, athavā and tathāhi*. Here, some discrimination was / is needed. When there is bifocal scene in the drama, like the wasp *(bhramara-bādhā)* episode in the first act, it is bare necessary for the poet to describe the

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10. I cannot read German language. So, I could not know about his discussion on the criteria of his reconstructed text through his introduction to this edition.

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situation by at least two verses. So, *yatoḥ yata ṣaṭcaraṇo-'bhivartate* to describe the beauty of Śakuntalā's eyes; and *calāpaṅgām dṛṣṭim* to show the jealousy of the King, these two verses are inevitable.

3 – 2 – 4, It is necessary to comment on some popular editions of this *Devanāgarī* recension. Enthusiasts like M. M. Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar (1871), Shri M. R. Kale (1898), P. N. Patankar (1898-1902), Sarada Ranjan Ray (1908), Dr. Gauri Nath Shastri (1983) and Rewaprasad Dwivedi (1976-1986-2008-2017) etc. have published their *Devanāgarī* texts individually. But all the editions prepared by them are based on eclectic principles only. Their editions do not deserve to be called a "critical edition". None of the editors has tried to go in to a detailed comparative study, and chalked out the journey of the original text. Most of them are drown by some prejudice. They are of the opinion that there are repetition and amplification in these longer versions. In this opinion there may be a partial truth. But on the basis of partial truth one cannot discard all three longer versions as spurious. There are two possibilities here: 1. There may be some repetitions and amplifications in these longer versions, or 2. There may be some abridgement in the shorter versions. So, a text critic should examine both the versions very carefully and logically, rather without any prejudice for any of them. If a critic can attest any intrinsic probability of some abridgement and interpolations, he will be able to reach at a right conclusion. There is no doubt that two shorter versions of this drama are full of abridgement and three longer versions are full of interpolations. At the same time, there are few interpolated verses in shorter versions and there are some abridged portions too in the Kashmiri and the Bengali longer versions. Perhaps, the original text of this drama did not transmitted fully and unaltered in any of these five recensions. At this point, I would also like to point out a third possibility that all these five versions may be reproduced as "regional stage scripts" only !

3 – 2 – 5, The *Devanāgarī* text of 15th century is being used since last 150 years for teaching and learning purpose. [It was nobody else, but M. M. Ishwara-chandra Vidyasagar (1871), who paved for the *Devanāgarī* text in our academic

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society[11].] But, without any exception, all the printed editions of this *Devanāgarī* text are based on eclectic principle only and their editors have utilized only retrenched *Devanāgarī* manuscripts. Unfortunately, we are unaware of some *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, which contain a longer version of this drama[12]. And in the 11th century, Bhojarāja has quoted some verses and prose sentences from "this" *Devanāgarī* longer version in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* ! So, it is the desideratum of our time to prepare a fresh critical edition of *Devanāgarī* recension in the light of this new material.

3 – 3 – 0, A Kashmiri recension is the third recension of this drama. Prof. G. Bűhler purchased a *Śāradā* manuscript (no. 192), of the "Abhijñāna-śakuntalā" from Śrinagar in 1875. This *Śāradā* manuscript is the only one, which is written on a birch-bark. It's a unique piece. Later, in 1884, Prof. Karl Burkhard transcribed that *Śāradā* manuscript into the Roman script and he noticed that this manuscript represents an independent recension of Kashmir region. But unfortunately, the birch-bark manuscript (no. 192) went in to the dark[13]! It seems that nobody (Somadeva 2006) has tried to locate any other *Śāradā* manuscript of this drama until 2015.

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11. In presenting an acceptable text mainly for the students, the great humanist & reformer eschewed the greater portion of the 3rd act as un-delectable, & bolstered the cause of the retrenched text accepted by Raghava Bhatt, so much that the whole literary world almost veered round Is'varacandra in espousing the retrenched text as the genuine text of the drama. – See : D. K. Kanjilal's introduction, p. 173

12. I have collected and collated more than sixteen *Devanāgarī* manuscripts, which contains a longer version of the third act of this drama.

13. See :- *New Catalogues Catalogorum*, Ed. Dr. V. Raghavan, Univ. of Madras, 1968, (Part-1, pp. : 282-283).

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3 – 3 – 1, S. K. Belvalkar (Poona) wrote some articles [14], based on this *Śāradā* manuscript (no.192) during the 1923 to 1963. Dr. V. Raghavan published an edition of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*, edited by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar in 1965, without introduction, critical apparatus and variants in foot-notes etc. Declining health prevented Prof. Belvalkar from preparing a real critical edition. So, Dr. V. Raghavan wrote an introductory note to that edition. There, he said that he could see that he (S. K. Belvalkar) had taken here the Kashmiri recension. But it was not possible for scholars to check Dr. V Raghavan's assumption in the absence of any *Śāradā* manuscripts of this drama. Dr. V. Raghavan himself has declared in the NCC that the birch-bark manuscript no. 192 is lost from the Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts of B. O. R. I., Poona. Thus, the whole Indological world was in dark about the original text of Kashmiri recension up to 2018.

When I collected five *Śāradā* manuscripts, which also includes the MS. No. 192 and studied them in detail, I came to know that Dr. S. K. Belvalkar did not follow the *Śāradā* text tradition from beginning to end [15]. My thorough investigation says that his edition does not produce the text of Kashmiri recension, but it is a mixture of Kashmiri, Bengali and *Devanāgarī* texts. I should also note some other points for this so called edition of Kashmiri version : (1) Dr. Belvalkar did not accept the *Śaurasenī Prākrit* forms of the *Śāradā* birch-bark manuscript (no. 192) in his

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14. See : (1) The Application of a few canons of textual & Higher criticism to Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*, pub. Asia Major, Leipzing, pp. 78-104, in 1923; (2) The original *Śakuntala*, pub. Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol. 3, Orientalia, Part-2, pp. 344-359, Calcutta, 1925; (3) S'ringaric Eloboration in *Śākuntala* – Act : 3, pub. Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman, Harvard University Press, in 1929, pp. 187-192; (4) Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-śākuntalā.* It's dramatic Setting, Vikrama Vol., pp. 45-55, Ujjain, 1948; (5) Entract to Act 7, (*Nāṭaka* and *Nartana*), Vol. 20, pp. 19-24, Bulletin of Daccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1950; and (6) *Nisarga Kanyā Śākuntalā* (in Hindi), pub. In Kālidāsa Granthavali, Translated by Sita Rama Chaturvedi, Bharat Prakashan Mandir, Aligarh, 1962,pp. 59-70

15. I could guess that the birch bark manuscript (no.192) was in his custody at least for forty years. (1923 - 1965)

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edition, e. g. *ayyutta, apuravam, sauntalā, yyeva etc.* He replaced them in to *Mahārāṣṭri* Prakrit, e. g. *ajjautta, apuvvam, saundalā, jjeva* etc. (2) Dr. Belvalkar had discussed, in his article : "Śṛṅgaric Elaboration in Śakuntalā, Act - 3" (1929), that the lengthy love scene may be a genuine one. However, later on when he edited the full text (1965), he has given up this criticism and gave us "neither too short nor too long version" of the text. Here, he has omitted two love scenes, e. g. 1. The episode of the retying of the lotus wristlet, *(mṛṇāla-valaya)* on the wrist of Śakuntalā, and 2. Seeing that Śakuntalā's eye is disturbed by pollen *(parāga-raja)*, Duṣyanta offers his services to remove it. (These two scenes cover long time period, from noon to evening.) Therefore it is clear beyond doubt that it is an eclectic text only.

3 – 3 – 2, I have collected five *Śāradā* manuscripts (during the years 2013 to 2015) and prepared a critical edition of the Kashmiri recension, (Bhatt 2018).[16] In the introduction, I have discussed several points regarding my critical edition in general and the Kashmiri recension in particular : (1) Description of five *Śāradā* manuscripts and a genealogical tree of the same. I have mentioned some rules to constitute the critical text, (2) Five recensions, which are popular among scholars, are not created simultaneous in the different parts of India. So, it was necessary to find out a journey of the text. With the help of some internal and logical hints, I ventured to show the sequential order of their occurrence. (3) Concept of "Recension" may not be initiated on the differences of scripts or regions of manuscripts. A text critic is supposed to find out some critical points to bifurcate two or many flux of text traditions. On the basis of one major critical point, I have proved that there are only two recensions of the drama, viz. (a) *Śāradā* recension, that is Kashmiri text tradition and (b) all other four text traditions stand in opposition to the prior one. Because only *Śāradā* recension does not have any direct conflict from the side of a queen, e.g. Kulaprabhā, whereas in all other texts, (*Maithilī*, Bengali, *Dākṣināṭya* and *Devanāgarī*) it does exist from the side of a queen, e.g. Vasumatī. (4) I have pointed out that at many places the *Śāradā* text tradition is supported by external and internal evidences. And it is also attested by some older citations. So, it is tested in detail that this text tradition

16. Google archive : https://archive.org/details/AbhigyanShakuntala1,

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preserves the most reliable text. (5) This is the oldest recension, because it is transmitted into the Śāradā script of the seventh century.

3 – 4 – 0, The fourth recension is the *"Maithilī* recension". Prof. Rama Nath Jha has critically edited the text of this recension from some manuscripts, written in the *Maithilī* scripts. He has also edited two commentaries of Śañkara and Narahari along with the text of this drama. These two commentators adhere to the *Maithilī* text tradition only. (Chandraśekhara Chakravartti, a commentator of Bengali text tradition, quotes Śañkara very often, but he considers Śañkara's text tradition as a different tradition than his own.) Dr. Rama Nath Jha had spent twelve years of his life for this important *Maithilī* text. (Jha 1957).

3 – 4 – 1, Unfortunately, Sanskrit scholars have not paid proper attention towards this *Maithilī* recension. On the contrary, some of them have tried to disapprove its independent value without going into detailed study. Dr. V. Raghavan, as a Convener of the Sahitya Academy's publications, wrote an editorial note on Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's edition (Belvalkar 1965, 3) of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*. There, he wrote that – "More recently, the *Maithilī* Institute, Darbhanga, brought out a new edition based on *Maithilī* manuscripts. Its editor claims that this text represents a *Maithilī* recension of the play, but such a fifth recension is not justified by facts. This text belongs to the *Bengali*-Kashmiri family, sometimes leaning towards the Bengali and sometimes towards the Kashmiri." This remark has not only damaged the importance of this edition, but it is also an injustice to the *Maithilī* recension. In my opinion, Dr. V. Raghavan did not try to penetrate into the situation. There must be some reason for this *Maithilī* text to look like leaning towards Bengali text and sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri text as well. If we can find out sequential order of these three recensions, it will give us a definite answer that why the *Maithilī* text is similar at times to Bengali and at times to Kashmiri text.

I could not find any reference of *Maithilī* recension in various articles of Prof. S. K. Belvalkar, which were written during 1923 to 1965. So we could not know his opinion about this *Maithilī* recension ! It would be of a good service to the textual criticism if somebody can find out it.

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3 – 4 – 2, Dr. D. K. Kanjilal (1980) has discussed the numbers of stage directions found in all different recensions. He writes: "Comparison of the total number of stage-directions in each recension reveals a tendency for gradual increase from the Bengal to Mithila and from Mithila to *Kashmira*." (Kanjilal 1980, 55) This remark leads us to think that according to his opinion the Bengali recension stands first in sequential order. And then comes *Maithilī* and *Kashmiri* recensions at second and third order respectively. This sequential order can explain why the *Maithilī* text is leaning sometimes towards Bengali texts and sometimes towards the Kashmiri text. But if we put the text of Bengali recension at a first level, we cannot prove many Bengali variants as original one. The most probable variants are found only in the Kashmiri recension, and they are not less in numbers. And some of them are transmitted into the *Maithilī* text, but not in the Bengali text. So, we are compeled to place the Kashmiri recension at first level. And if we place the Kashmiri recension first in sequential order, and the *Maithilī* and Bengali texts at second and third order, then everything can be explained very easily and unambiguously !

3 – 4 – 3, The *Maithilī* recension is different and independent from the Bengali and Kashmiri recensions. In the prelude of this text, there is a dialogue of stage director *(sūtradhāra)* that *–Ārye, rasa-bhāva-viśeṣa-dīkṣā-guroḥ śri Vikramāditysya Sāhasāṅkasya abhirūpa-bhūyiṣṭhā pariṣat*. This variant dialogue is available in the *Maithilī* text only. It suggests that this recension came into existence during the fourth century A. D. The king of Magadha, Chandra Gupta - II is known as the *Sāhasāṅka*, because he defeated the *Śaka* and killed him (and then got married with Dhruva-swāminī Devī, his elder brother's wife).[17] After the victory over the Śaka, Chandra Gupta- II adopted the title of "*Śrī-Vikramāditya*" ! And the stage director of Mithila mentions here that he is staging the text of this Mithila region in front of this *Śri-Vikramāditya*, who is also known as the *Sāhasāṅka* ! Here, without any delay, I should make it clear that though the text of this drama was redrafted during the time of Chandra Gupta- II, it stands second to the Kashmiri text. According to the chronological order of various scripts, the

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17. He was a son of the King Samudra Gupta, who was known as the *Parākramāṅka*.

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Śāradā script may be placed in the seventh century. But the transmitted text of Kashmir, which is preserved in the *Śāradā* manuscripts, is of very older period, i.e. of the second or third century. Because, only this Kashmiri recension preserves some intrinsically probable variants and is free from major interpolations.

Now, it's time to mention a critical point, which bifurcates the *Maithilī* recension from the Kashmiri recension. In the sixth act, the Kashmiri recension does not exhibit any direct conflict / competition from the side of a queen, viz. Kulaprabhā. [when there was a curse of *Ṛṣi* Durvāsā as an element of conflict in the drama, it was not of any use to show some another conflict.] It was first time introduced by the reviser / text-redactor of the *Maithilī* text. This new text-redactor has introduced a queen, viz. Vasumatī, who directly comes into conflict with the maiden, *Medhāvinī*, of the King, Duṣyanta. The poet, Kālidāsa has claimed that he is going to give a new and fresh (*apūrva*) drama (by introducing a new type of conflict, - a curse of Durvāsā), but this newly introduced conflict has destroyed it fully. Unfortunately, this interpolation of *Maithilī* recension became so popular that it has been followed by rest of all three recensions (*Bengali, Dākṣiṇātya* & *Devanāgarī*) in subsequent years [18].

3 – 5 – 0, A text of this drama, which is transmitted in minimum four South Indian scripts, e. g. *Grantha, Nandi-nāgarī, Telugu* and *Malayalam*, might have been preserved the fifth recension. But nobody has attempted to edit the South Indian text critically so far. Scholars have only paid their attention towards publication of South Indian commentaries (of Katāya-vema, Abhirāma, Śrīnivāsa, Carca, Ghanśyāma Nīlakaṇṭha) of this drama till date [19].

3 – 5 – 1, Many renowned scholars have compared the text of South Indian tradition with the *Devanāgarī* text tradition, but they did not check the various differences. They have found that the two text traditions are similar up to ninety

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18. See- Abhi.s'aku. Ka Pātha-parāmarsh : https://archive.org/details/Shakuntalam Textual Criticism
19. The first edition of *Abhijñānaśākuntalam,* with the commentary of Katayavema was published In Telugu script, from Madras in 1876 .

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percent[20]. (Dwivedi 1986, 16) This kind of primary comparison lead them to believe that the South Indian text tradition is also in support of the *Devanāgarī* text tradition. And that is the reason to believe, I presume, that their *Devanāgarī* text tradition is genuine one ! But this is grossly misunderstood jump over the problem.

3 – 5 – 2, Most of the scholars in past, hypothetically, believed that the *Devanāgarī* text tradition stands first and the South Indian text tradition stands only second. This may be true, if it is framed for the history of scripts only. But this is not true for the extant *Devanāgarī* and South Indian text-tradition of this drama. Factually speaking, scholars have never tried to fix the problem of priority among these two traditions. Most of the scholars are of the opinion that *Devanāgarī* text tradition is prior to the South Indian text tradition. Even Prof. Deelipkumar Kanjilal has placed the South Indian text at the fifth level (Kanjilal 1980, 2.73-77). If somebody raises a question that who abridged the longer version into a shorter one of this drama first time? Then the importance of fixing priority among these two shorter versions will be understood very clearly. I have examined this problem and pointed out at some variants of *Dākṣiṅātya* text which are intrinsically most probable variants, as compared to the *Devanāgarī* variants (Bhatt 2015). For example :- (1) An adjective of celestial nymphs, e. g. *tyakta-bhogāḥ* is contextual and more suitable than the variant *baddha-vairāḥ* of the *Devanāgarī* text. (2) According to the South Indian text, in interlude of the act – 6, the fisher man says : *Bhaṭṭā, tumha-kelae me jīvide.* Here, the *Devanāgarī* text reads it differently: *Bhaṭṭā, aha kīlis'e me ājīve ?* But looking to the context the South Indian variant is only logical and tenable. So, on the basis of these intrinsically probable variants of the South Indian text tradition, one can conclude that the South Indian text tradition is prior to the *Devanāgarī* text tradition.

[4]

4 – 1 – 0, *Variorum* Edition: The survey and evaluation of these five recensions will not be completed without mentioning some remarkable efforts of collecting

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20. I have adopted the first (= *Devanāgarī*) one which corresponds with the fourth = *Dākṣiṇātya* up to 90%.

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and recording all variants of this drama in a single volume. The publication of various recensions and different commentaries of the play are definitely important, but it's equally important to collect and to put together all available variants. This type of field work is also an essential part of any textual criticism. [A collation of various variants of a particular text is also known as a "*Variorum Edition*".[21]]

4 – 1 – 1, Prof. T. Foulkes (1904) has tried his best to record the variants of all seven works of Kālidāsa, which were available to him in the "Government Oriental Manuscript Library", at Madras. But he had used some alphabetical single for those Madras manuscripts, these are not verifiable today. Because, the manuscript library has marked them with numerical single ! So, it is very difficult and laborious work to identify particular variant in those numerically arranged manuscripts.

But, a very important point I should mention here is that in the collection of. Prof. T. Foulkes there were only South Indian manuscripts, which were stored in that Madras Manuscript Library. He has noted all variants and interpolated portions of all three longer versions ! Any researcher can check the entries noted in the name of (Pa A), (N), (K), (P n) single. This shows that even in the South Indian regions, a longer version of this drama in general and Kashmiri version in particular was prevalent at a point of time. (I have also observed in the anonymous commentary, i.e. Carcā, that this commentator is also aware of Kashmiri variants !)

4 – 1 – 2, Prof. A. Scharpe (1954) collected all available variants of (Sanskrit & Prakrit) prose portion in the Bengali (Edited by R. Pischel) and *Devanāgarī* (Edited by Carl Cappeller) texts while preparing Kālidāsa Lexicon. And he has collected all available variants of the poetry portion from the Bengali, Kashmiri,

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21. The collation of all known variants of a text is referred to as a *variorum,* namely a work of textual criticism whereby all variations and emendations are set side by side so that a reader can track how textual decisions have been made in the preparation of a text for publication. – Wikipedia

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Devanāgarī and South Indian texts. He also included variants of verses from the texts of poetics, (which were listed by Hari Chand) [22].

4 – 1 – 3, Prof. Rewaprasad Dwivedi has published a word index of Kālidāsa, viz. *"Kālidāsa-śabdānukrama-koṣa"*, in 2017. Here, he has not given all available variants of Kālidāsa's works. But he has given a general word index with full text of all seven works of Kālidāsa. This type of word index can serve, in a way, as a tool for textual criticism. We can utilize this word index to measure frequency of a particular word and ultimately, it may help us to decide the probability of a particular variant, to some extent.

4 – 1 – 4, Recently, I have also prepared a book, viz. *"Abhijñāna-śakuntalā nāṭakasya pañca-raṅgāvṛttayaḥ"* (it is published by the Central Sanskrit University, Delhi, 2020.) in this volume readers will get a full text of all five recensions and a reconstructed and restored text of this drama. According to my findings these five recensions came in to existence, most probably, in this order: (1) the Kashmiri, (2) the *Maithilī*, (3) the Bengali, (4) the South Indian and (5) the *Devanāgarī* . So, I placed the texts of these recensions in the same order. In the foot-notes, every change in reading, interpolations and abridgement are clarified in a comparative way. In short, this volume can also serve as a variorum edition of this drama. Nevertheless, there is a detailed discussion in the beginning of all the five texts of these recensions, to demonstrate that these texts are reproduced as stage versions only. I should also add another point that all the texts of four recensions are offsprings of the Kashmiri recension. After completion of my comparative study of these stasge versions, I ventured to give a reconstructed and restored text of this drama [23].

[5]

5 – 1 – 0, A Journey of the Text: When an editor prepares a critical edition of ancient or medieval text, which is transmitted through multiple manuscripts, he is

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22. We should note the limitations of this collection, so far as *Devanāgarī* text and variants of poetry are concerned.

23. Available at : *https://archive.org/details/AbhigyanaShakuntala Reconstructed Text 2018*

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supposed to conjecture a reverse pedigree (= some forefather of each individual) of extant manuscripts. A text-critic cannot reach up to lost archetype without this conjectural pedigree. This is an inevitable process of the lower criticism. Dr. Richard Pischel and other text-critics have done enough lower criticism for each recension and they have published their critically edited recensions of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*[24]. Now, we are supposed to find out a journey of the text. By the phrase: *"a journey of the text"*, I mean sequential order in which they came into existence. This will also be called a pedigree of available recensions. But this kind of pedigree will give us a line of descendants. According to me, here begins some higher criticism and this will indicate a way out for preparing the most reliable "reconstructed and restored" text. This should be the ultimate goal of any textual criticism.

5 – 1 – 1, There is no authentic historical record of the text transmission in India. So *prima facie* it looks like an impossible job to find out a journey of the text. Kālidāsa wrote this drama in the *Brāhmī* script of his age, i. e. the first or the second century B.C. Later, this script was redesigned / remoulded in different regions of India in multiple ways. At the same time, a text of the drama was also enacted on stage repeatedly. Every change in the script and every performance would have invited multiple changes in the text. So it is very difficult to conjecture a journey of the text. But we can formulate some hypothesis: Either these recensions would have come into existence independently in different regions of India, or they might have been generated / reproduced from one to the other over a period of two thousand years. After a detailed comparative study of all these five recensions, I have found that one of them has least interpolations and other four recensions have one common peculiar element of conflict. Then I understood that these recensions did not come into existence independently in different regions. But they are generated from one to another. And if it is like this only, then we are supposed to decide that which one is the oldest. So, I tried to decide among these five recensions, which one is the oldest. Looking at the

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24. It is notable that in the title of this drama there are three variants: 1. in the Kashmiri recension it is : *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā-nāṭakam,* 2. In the *Maithilī* and Bengali recensions it is: *Abhijñānaśakuntalam,* but 3. In the *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Devanāgarī* recensions it is: the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam.*

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development of various scripts, *Śāradā* script is nearest to the *Brāhmī* script. So, it was necessary to examine the Kashmiri recension first. There I found many intrinsically probable variants and absences of some peculiar element of conflict. On the basis of this study I reached to the conclusion that the Kashmiri recension may be the oldest one. Contrary to this recension, in the Maithili, Bengali, *Dākṣinātya* and *Devanāgarī* recensions one can find many unconvincing and dubious variants. Variants of these four recensions cannot be proved intrinsically probable. For example:--

(a) The episode of Śakuntalā's departure from the hermitage is narrated in the fourth act. According to the Kashmiri recension (Bhatt 2018, 492) Śakuntalā speaks to Kaṇva *Muni: kadham dāṇim tadeṇa-virahidā kari-sārtha-paribbhatt.hā kareṇukā via pāṇā dhāraissam.* Contrary to this dialogue, other four recensions read it : *kadham tādassa aṅkādo paribbhatthā Malaya-pavvdummulidā via candaṇa-ladā desantare jīvidam dhāraissam.* The basic difference in two similes is notable here. Kashmiri recension gives a simile of "very young female elephant isolated from her group" to the heroine, Śakuntalā. But in the *Maithilī* and other three recensions, she is compared with a creeper of sandal-plant, who is uprooted from the side of the mountain Malaya. Looking at two different similes, question may arise here that which one is penned by Kālidāsa? Lower criticism will advise one to choose a variant which is available in majority of the manuscripts / recensions; (or will advise you to select a variant which is available in the oldest manuscript / recension). If majority of documented evidences are in favour of the *candaṇa-ladā,* then you should accept that variant as a genuine one. But higher criticism will ask you to go beyond the numbers of documentary evidences (or older evidence). So, in this case, we have to check some geographical facts too. The hermitage of Kaṇva *Muni* is situated in foot-hills of the Himalaya, (not in the mountain of Malaya). Śakuntalā was born and grown up there only. She has never seen any plant of sandal-wood there. Whatever she has seen in her periphery is lots of various groups of elephants, wandering in the forest of Himalaya. So, it is obvious for her to compare herself with a young female elephant, who is isolated from her group. Another point is also notable here. In the simile of a sandal-plant, she is suggesting her own delicacy. But that is not relevant here. If she gives herself a simile of a lost young female elephant, there is

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a sense of anguish, danger and companionless. That is the most appropriate situation for Śakuntalā, while she is going alone to her husband's house. The variant of Kashmiri recension has no support from any other recension. Even though we can conclude that only the Kashmiri recension has preserved the most appropriate and authentic text here.

(b) In the sixth act of the *Maithilī, Bengali, Dākṣiṇātya* and *Devanāgarī* texts, there is a reference of some conflict from the side of a Queen, i.e. Vasumatī. The maid servant, i.e. Caturikā / Medhāvinī reports to the king that on her way, the box of brushes and paint was forcibly snatched from her hand by the Queen Vasumatī. After listening to this dialogue, the king alerts *Viduṣaka*: Friend, the Queen is at hand; and she is also haughty with inflamed jealousy. Therefore, can you keep this portrait (of Śakuntalā) safely ? But comparing the same portion with the Kashmiri text, first we find a different name of the Queen, i.e. Kulaprabhā. And there is no indication of direct or indirect conflict from her side. Here, in the Kashmiri text, there is a quarrel between two maid servants only, i.e. Medhāvinī and Piṅgalikā ! Here, the Queen, i.e. Kulaprabhā, does not show any jealousy. This is a very significant difference in the nature of conflict. Here, a text-critic is supposed to find out the original one. But for that purpose he should not check that "how many recensions are there in favour of a particular variant ? " During the process of lower criticism, many critics do follow the "majority of the manuscript school"; (or at times, some critics may follow the "oldest manuscript school"). But, here we are not dealing with manuscripts. This is a case of conflicting recensions. So the number of recensions cannot become the deciding factor.

This dilemma can be solved by some higher criticism only: In the introductory part of this drama the poet has proclaimed that he has written a "New" and *apūrva* (=an unequal with the previous dramas) drama, called *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā.* The poet has clearly suggested that in this drama a new kind of conflict is introduced, i.e. the curse of Durvāsā. So, there is no need to intensify the conflict from the side of older Queen. In his previous dramas, viz. 1. *Mālavikāgnimitram* and 2. *Vikramorvaśīyam,* he has already shown that how the older Queens create various types of hurdles in love affairs of the king. So, in the new drama, i.e. *Abhijñānaśakuntalā,* there is no need to repeat the same. Here, a critic is supposed

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to remember two adjectives, given in the introductory part of this drama. These two adjectives suggest that the indirect conflict shown by the Queen, though supported by majority of the recensions, should not be accepted as a reliable text. Here, the text of Kashmiri recension is the only reliable one, because it does not exhibit any conflict from the side of older Queen. Thus the text of Kashmiri recension only maintain the newness and *apūrvatā* of the drama. In other words, those two adjectives, "New" and "*apūrva*" are fulfilled in the text of Kashmiri recension only.

5 – 1 – 2, Thus, if it is proved by the higher criticism that the text of Kashmiri recension is more authentic, as compared to other four recensions, we should accept the same as very close to the poet's composition and the oldest available recension. I would also like to strengthen my findings by quoting one citation from the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra-vṛtti* (5-2-83) of Vāmana (700 A. D.) as follow :

In the beginning of the third act, there is a stage-direction in the Kashmiri recension : *tataḥ praviśati kāma-yānāvastho rājā Vidūṣakaśca*. Here the *Maithilī* and the Bengali recensions have a different reading : *tataḥ praviśati madanāvastho rājā Vidūṣakaśca*. There is a third variant in the texts of *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Devanāgarī* recensions,: *tataḥ praviśati kāmayamānāvastho rājā Vidūṣakaśca*. Now, a question arises that out of three different variants which one might have been penned by Kālidāsa himself ? Scholars have explained the word, e. g. *kāmayāna : kāmasya yānam, yānabhutā avasthā yasya* (= whose state is vehicle of love, full of love.) And Mammaṭa comments that *anityam āgamānuśāsanam*. It means that *kāmayāna* and *kāmayamāna,* both are grammatically correct. Dr. Monier Williams says that these explanations are of course not natural. So, he accepts a third (Bengali) variant: *sa-madanāvastho*. But, Vāmana, who flourished in 7th century A. D., has given an aphorism that- *kāmayāna-śabdaḥ siddho 'nādiśceta* (K. S. V. 5-2-83) Here he says that the word, e. g. *kāmayāna,* is correct. And what more we need ? If Kālidāsa himself has used the same word in his *Raghuvaṁśam* (Canto 19-50); it is now proved beyond any doubt that the reading of Kashmiri recension is penned by Kālidāsa himself !

To summarise the discussion, there are three supportive arguments with us to prove that the Kashmiri recension is more authentic than any other recensions :-

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(1) The Kashmiri text, which is transmitted and well preserved in a birch bark manuscript, is written in the oldest *Śāradā* script. (2) With the help of higher criticism we can prove that many readings of the Kashmiri recension are genuine. (3) Some variants of the Kashmiri recension are also attested by citations of the older texts on poetics.

5 – 1 – 3, On the basis of the fore cited three evidences, we can conclude that the Kashmiri recension is the oldest one among available five recensions. Now, when the beginning of the journey of the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā* is decided very firmly; it will be easy for us to find out a sequential order of other recensions. It is said that the *Maithilī* text is sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri recension and sometimes leaning towards the Bengali recension. If a comparative study can give us such type of impression, it is possible to find out the hidden reason behind it: Wherever the text of *Maithilī* recension is different from the Bengali recension; and it is similar to the text of Kashmiri recension, we should place the *Maithilī* recension at second level. And, wherever the variants of *Maithilī* recension do not match with the text of the Kashmiri recension; but they match with the text of Bengali recension, it is possible to infer that those variants and interpolations and were not available in the Kashmiri recension. But they might have been introduced in the text of *Maithilī* recension first, and later (means at third level) they were accepted by the Bengali recension. Thus, by placing the text of *Maithilī* recension after the oldest one, the Kashmiri recension, and placing it prior to the Bengali text, we can easily explain the question: "Why the *Maithilī* recension is sometimes leaning towards the Kashmiri recension and sometimes towards the Bengali recension ?" The following instances prove this conjecture:

(a) In the third act, Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā get married secretly by following the *Gāndharva* rituals of marriage. Here, there is a series of erotic scenes. So, many text--redactors or stage directors might have interpolated some spurious erotic verses here. In the Kashmiri recension there are 35 verses in this act, in the *Maithilī* recension there are 40 verses and in the Bengali recension there are 41 verses. Increasing numbers in each recension suggest the sequential order in which they came into existence. Here, it will be interesting to go into some details: There are two verses, e. g. *tava kusuma-śaratvam* (3-4) and then, *Śakyo 'ravindasurabhi* (3-5) in the Kashmiri text. At the second level, the *Maithilī*

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text has interpolated three verses more, e.g.1. *aniśamapi Makara-ketur,* 2. *Vrithaiva saṅkalpa-śatair*, and 3. *Sammīlanti na tāvad bandhan-koṣā.* But, in the Bengali recension we find one more verse, e. g. *śaśikara-viśadānyasyāssthā*, which is inserted between *stananyastośiram.* And *kṣāma-kṣāma-kapolamānanam* these verses.

(b) In the Kashmiri recension, the name of Duṣyanta's wife, (Queen) is Kula-prabhā. At a point, Duṣyanta asks his maid servant, i.e. Medhāvinī to bring a box of brushes and some paint, in the sixth act. After some time she enters on the stage and reports that on her way back, it was forcibly snatched from her by the maid servant of the Queen, i.e. Piṅgalikā. So, here there is quarrel between two maid servants. The same episode is depicted differently in the *Maithilī* recension. Here, the name of the Queen is changed, it is "Vasumatī". And, *Medhāvinī* reports that on her way back, it was forcibly snatched from her by the Queen, i.e. Vasumatī herself. Vidūṣaka also gives a word of caution that the tigress of a queen-palace is rushing towards deer like Medhāvinī to kill her. Even, the king also supports the words of Vidūṣaka by saying that the queen is haughty with inflamed jealousy. Thus, some indirect conflict from the side of a Queen (co-wife) is newly introduced first time in the *Maithilī* recension. Here, the Bengali text has introduced a third change. A redactor of the Bengali text has replaced the name of Medhāvinī by new name, i.e. Caturikā. And conflict in case of the Queen, Vasumatī is accepted from the *Maithilī* text without any change. Now, we can find a concrete evidence for the sequential order of these three recensions from the Bengali text. Once a text-redactor has introduced a new name, e. g. Caturikā for Medhavinī, he was expected to stick to it throughout the sixth act. But, fortunately or unfortunately he missed it at one place ! Let us read the episode according to the Bengali text :- The king had asked his maid servant, e.g. Caturikā to bring a box of paint and brushes, but later on when she returned in a terrified mood and with empty hand. The King asked, "O Caturikā, what happened ?". She narrated the reason behind her destructed efforts. Now, *Vidūṣaka* hears some voice from the back, inviting the Queen on the stage. So he creates panic with a dialogue: "The tigress of a lady-palace is rushing towards deer like Medhāvinī to kill her." Here, absent minded redactor of this Bengali text (Pischel 1922, 85-86; Kanjilal 1980, 324) writes the old name, i.e. Medhāvinī, instead of that changed

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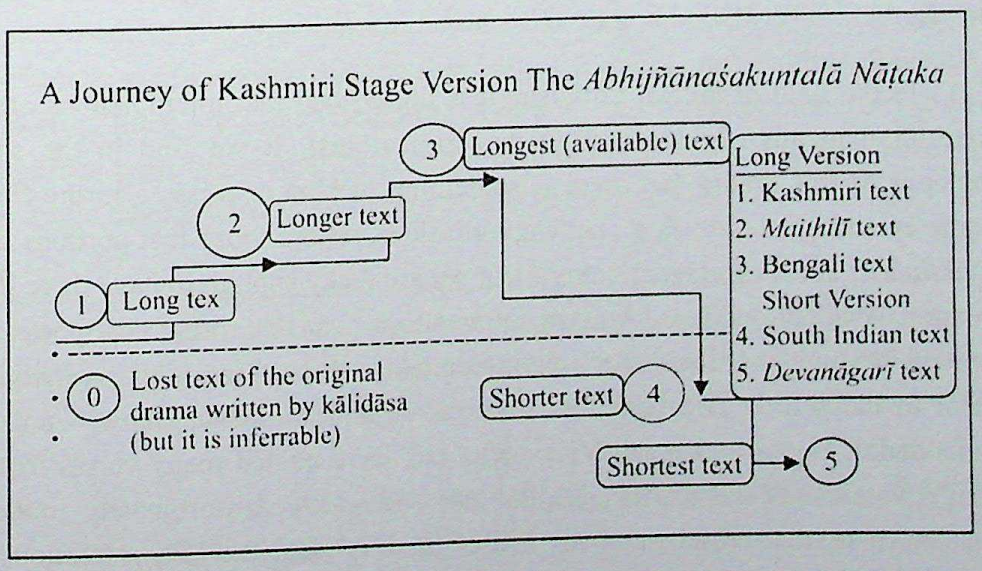
name, i.e. Caturikā ! This kind of mistake leads us to infer that the Bengali text, which came down to us, was rewritten/reproduced at a third level only.

It is interesting to note that, at a fourth level, the South Indian text redactor has accepted that new name Caturikā. But changing the names of actors and actresses goes on further. So, in the South Indian text, we find that the name of another maid servant, e.g. Piṅgalikā is also changed as "Taralikā" ! Here, changing names of the dramatic personae is the indicator of sequential order of these recensions. (Between the South Indian and *Devanāgarī* recensions, which one stands first ? This point has been dealt in section: 3 -5 - 2, & shown that the South Indian recension is prior to the *Devanāgarī* recension.)

5 – 1 – 4, The foregoing discussion compels us to come to the conclusion of specific sequential order of these recensions, i.e. (1) The Kashmiri, (2) the *Maithilī*, (3) the Bengali, (4) the *Dākṣiṇātya* and lastly (5) the *Devanāgarī* recensions. First three recensions present a longer version of this drama, where we can find some more authentic text preserved. And a shorter version of this drama is transmitted in the last two recensions. This diagram will make the point very clear:--



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Once the journey of the text (means a definite sequential order in which they came into existence) is decided, we can have a picture of the oldest available recension and subsequent changes will be understood clearly, including each and every interpolations and abridgements in the transmitted texts of the various versions. This will pave road for the "reconstruction and restoration of the most authentic text". This text, which is prepared as discussed in the above paragraphs, will be nearer to the intended text of the original author. This is the ultimate goal of any textual criticism.

[6]

6 – 1 – 1, My Contribution: Before I conclude my discussion on the topic, i.e. The *Abhijñāna-śakuntalā* – 225 years of Textual Criticism, I would like to mention my research works in brief.

(1) First of all, it was necessary to prove that there is an abridgement in third act of the *Devanāgarī* and *Dākṣiṇātya* recensions. Here, in the plot, the "unity of time" is not maintained. This has proved that there is an abridgement in the text of *Devanāgarī* recension. This point was mentioned by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar (1929, 187-192) I am inspired by this article and tried to strengthen this point with some new points. My article was published by Dr. Radhavallabh Tripathi, Sagar, (Bhatt 2012).

(2) In the field of textual criticism, it is understood that interpolations are less harmful than any abridgement in the original text. If we find in the shorter versions of this drama that there is something lacking or missing in the flow of some episode, it becomes a challenging task to restore those lost portions of the *Dākṣiṇātya* and *Devanāgarī* texts ? But we are lucky enough to have three longer versions available with us. And, by the citations available in Sanskrit poetics it is proved beyond any doubt that, chronologically, these three longer versions are prior to the shorter two versions. Vāmana, Ānandavardhana, Bhoja, Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, Hemacandra and Viśvanātha etc. have quoted many verses from the longer versions of this drama (Kanjilal 1980, 429-439) ! Unfortunately, in the past history of textual criticism, many critics have ignored the longer version, with

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excessive prejudice[25]. This has been continued up to the present time. So, I started examining the Bengali text. There I found many interpolations, which were introduced with the help of some indeclinable like: *api ca, athavā* and *tathāhi,* but at the same time, I observed that some genuine portions are preserved too. So, I thought that here, a bit of literary criticism (which includes harmony in narrated episode = unity of action and stylistics etc.) can be useful in textual criticism. However, this kind of higher criticism should not be effected by subjectivity, and it can be helpful to decide what is intrinsically probable/appropriate and what is not. This type of literary criticism,[26] which I've undertaken, has proved that there were two scenes in the original text of the third act, but unknown redactors of the shorter version, e.g. *Dākṣināty*a text, might have curtailed them. It would be interesting to indicate those two scenes: (a) Duṣyanta ties a stalk of lotus (*mṛṇāla-valaya*) on the wrist of heroine, Śakuntalā and (b) Śakuntalā is distressed by her pollinized eye, (*puṣpa-rajasā kaluṣi-kṛtā dṛṣti*), and Duṣyanta offers his services to remove it by his mouth-blow (*vadana-māruta*). This episode is proved stylistically as genuine one[27] by the line in the sixth act, *" śṛṅge Kṛṣṇa-mṛgasya vāma-nayanam kaṇḍuyamānām mṛgīm."* Any *"sahṛdaya"* spectator will see that there is some inter connection between these two episodes.

The two scenes of real love affair is depicted in the second half of the third act; and some loutish interpolations are introduced in the first half. This contradiction itself becomes an evidence that the first half of the act is not original. Because in this portion there are some uncultured verses uttered by Duṣyanta. They are not harmonious with the second half. (The reclining position of the heroine on the stage might have invited those interpolations in the first half.)

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25. Prof. P. N. Patankar : The Bangali text has been so hopelessly tampered with that we cannot depend upon even the oldest manuscripts of its class, surcharged as they are with repetitions & disproportionate amplifications. (second edition, 1902)
26. See : *Abhi, Śākuntalam : kṛti-samīkṣā se pāṭha-samīkṣā,* pub. Hyderabad Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University, 2010
27. This analysis is available at : https://archive.org/details/AbhijnanaShakuntala OfKalidasaHindiAnalysisOf3ActVasantKumarBhatM.OsmaniaUniversity

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(3) Restoration of the third act is most problematic, because, during the time of two thousand years, many deviations in the transmitted text of this drama has been introduced. No text-critic has identified that there are four types of variants in this act. Such as;- (a) interpolations of uncultured verses and dialogues, (b) Central scene of the "Reclining Śakuntalā" has been ruined by introducing contradictory stage-directions, (c) daughter of a sage, i.e. Kaṇva *Muni,* has been transformed into a daughter of *Rājarṣi*, i.e. Viśvāmitra and (d) the longer text has been abridged by curtailing two scenes. Without identifying these four debatable points, every critic is stressed and struggling only with the erotic interpolations. They think that it is the only problem in this act; since 1789. But, I think that interpolations in this act are not a major issue. In my view, the first scene of this act, e.g. *kusuma-śayanā Śakuntalā* is the central issue and it can be solved by higher criticism only. This issue should be solved first: In this scene the heroine, Śakuntalā, is depicted as reclining on a flower-bed. According to a rule of the *Nāṭyaśāstra,* dramatists are not allowed to depict any scene where somebody has to recline / sleep on the stage. But, some genius poet or real stage-artist may take liberty as per his / her requirement. Kālidāsa is one of them. So, the first scene of the third act opens with the reclining position of Śakuntalā. And, the fear of Bharata *Muni* is proved to be true ! Here, some stage directors, while enacting the reclining position of a heroine, might have been tempted to introduce some erotic verses. This kind of interpolations and variants in some dialogues entered at a first level. Later on, looking towards these uncultured verses, some other stage-directors started to think that how to stop this kind of decadence in the text ? They have manipulated with the reclining position of Śakuntalā, and introduced a way out to curtail those moments. They might have interpolated new stage-directions (*upaviṣṭā / āsīnā cintayati*) to introduce the heroine in a sitting position, while she is writing a love-letter for the hero. Then, the hero appears before those lady-friends, Anasūyā offers him a seat on the same stone-slab where the heroine was now sitting. Duṣyanta takes his seat there only. Here, those stage-directors have interpolated the second stage-direction: "Shakuntala stands with bashfulness" (*Śakuntalā salajjā tiṣṭhati*), and due to this second stage-direction the whole presentation is now changed ! In fact, in this scene, the poet Kālidāsa wanted that the heroine stays in the reclining position for a long time. (This reclining position starts from the beginning of the scene, and while writing the love-letter also she is

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supposed to be in the same position only. Even when Duşyanta sits beside her on the same stone-slab, she is supposed to be in the reclining position.) It is only when she continues her sleeping position for such a longer period, that the wordings of a particular verse, e. g. *"aṅke nidhāya caraṇāvuta padmatāmrau, samvāhayāmi Karabhoru ! yathāsukham te"*, (O Beautiful Lady, may I, to comfort you, lightly press your feet, which are as red-lotuses, having placed in my lap ?) prove to be appropriate. Despite of this verse, some stage-directors have interpolated two stage-directions to curtail the long period of reclining position of the heroine. But, they made a blunder also ! When the hero offers his services to her, they have interpolated third stage-direction, e. g. *utthāya gantum icchati* (means- Rises and offers to go). Now, imagine the presentation of the scene: The hero is sitting on the stone-slab and the heroine is standing by him, and the hero asks her to take her feet in his lap ! How ugly would the scene be created by these newly added three stage-directions ! This disgusting picture is available in longer versions. Later on, the redactors of two shorter versions have tried to improve the scenario. They have manipulated that verse by changing the word-order. This verse has a variant like this : *"aṅke nidhāya Karabhoru yathā-sukham te, samvāhayāmi caraṇāvuta padamtāmrau"*. But, this so called improvement does not reach a desired goal. According to this newly framed word-order, we find meaning like this:- "O Beautiful Lady, may I, to comfort you, lightly press your feet, which are as red-lotuses, having placed you in my lap ?" In my view, when the poet himself has thought a scene, in which the heroine is supposed to continue her reclining position for a long period, that scene should be restored in its original form, so that, the particular verse becomes suitable to the episode. For such restoration of the scene, we have to remove all those three interpolated and contradictory stage-directions from this act.

6 – 1 – 2, Conclusion: Higher Criticism is the fourth part of any textual criticism, where a critic is supposed to go beyond the manuscript evidence. In the case of textual criticism of the *Abhijñānaśakunatalā* we can find out some repetitions, contradictions and diversions also. These irregularities can be a main guiding and leading indicators to detect interpolations, abridgements and variants of the later periods very logically. If all these variations of different versions can be proved intrinsically improbable, they should be removed from the transmitted texts of

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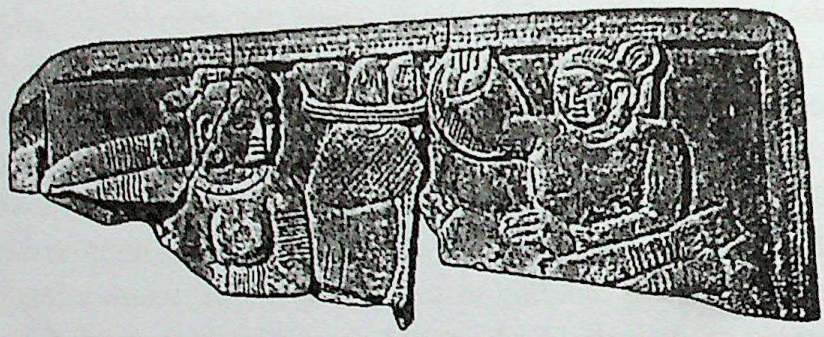
various recension. Then he should go for reconstruction and restoration of any traditional / ancient / medieval text. Once a text-critic reaches up to the reconstructed and restored text by some higher criticism, and his findings are supported from the archaeological side, his conclusions are fully accomplished.

6 – 1 – 3, I should mention one remarkable article in support of my higher criticism. Dr. Bahaddur Chand Chhabara has written an article, (Chhabara 1969) in which he has proved that there is a sculpture in Mathura style of Śunga period, which presents the heroine, Śakuntalā in a reclining position !



And, if this sculpture presents the particular scene of the third act of *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*, my higher criticism is now authenticated by an archaeological proof.

6 – 1 – 4, Some scholars are of the opinion that Kālidāsa was flourished in the Gupta period (4th or 5th century A. D.), but looking to the sculpture of Śuṅga period, where a particular scene of the *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam* is depicted, their opinion should be discarded for ever on the basis of fore cited archaeological evidence. Thus, the output of this higher criticism is very exciting; the sculpture of Śuṅga period compels us to place our poet, Kālidāsa in the second century B.C.

I hope that my churning of the first Indological topic viz. *Textual Criticism of the Abhijñāna-śakuntalā during 225 years* will be able to guide new generation to go further in various directions of the topic.

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A Remarkable Jaina Mahākāvya

Satyavrat Varma*

Abstract: Contributing over the years such masterpieces as the *Jaina Kumārasambhava, Hammira-mahākāvya, Bharatabāhubali-mahākāvya, Hīrasaubhāgya, Dharmaśarmabhyadaya,* the Jainistic authors have enriched the *Mahākāvya* tradition in a substantial measure. Because of its poetic virtues and structural peculiarities, besides other traits, the *Sanatkumāracarita* of Jinapala Upadhyaya (13th cent.) also stands far above a number of Sanskrit *mahākāvyas* of all hues. With the distinguishing traits of the Ornate and Puranic Writings, besides the folk and romantic stuff sitting cheek by jowl therein, it would be fair to treat it as a multi-character poem. The *carita* of Sanatkumara, the Cakrī, spans to the sure, his five births which combined together, form a cohesive narrative. The *Sanatkumāra-cakrīcarita* (*SKCC)* is doubtless written in the stereotyped style but breathes freshness and winsome poetry on account of the author's rich poetic talents and multi-pronged equipment. True is the poet's perception, it is permeated with aesthetic pleasure with all the major *rasas* contributing to the richness of sentiments. Notwithstanding its traditional moorings, the depiction of the beauties of the natural phenomenon is enlivened by poetic excellence. Besides the author's poetic genius, the vibrant language that despite its ornate character, has the resilience to accord with the respective phenomena, has assured the *SKCC* a high place in the galaxy of the Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas.* The way the figures of speech and metres have been used in the poem with visible self-assurance, reflects the author's profound learning in the twin *śāstras.* Indeed Jinapāla's high poetic talents and sound equipment have enabled him to produce a burly and worthy poem of the order of the *SKCC,* though the narrative was severely circumscribed by pre-

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determined parameters. While it would be a tall claim to make that he excelled the ancient masters like Magha and Sriharsa, Jinapāla was without doubt a great poet. His *SKCC* has stood the test of time excellently well.

Keywords: Cakrī, Candrahuta, Gaṇi, upādhyāya, *Ṣaṭsthānabavṛtti,* Aesthetic pleasure, *Dramatis personae, Prima donna, Citrakāvya, Vakrokti,* Vidyādhara

Introduction

Because of its myriad virtues the *Sanatkumāracakrīcarita (SKCC)* of Jinapāla Upādhyāya holds the pride of place in the galaxy of the comprehensive poems. It seeks to detail in twenty four Cantos comprised of 2203 verses, the chequered career of Sanatkumāra, revered as one of the twelve Cakrvartins in the Jainistic faith. To be sure the *Carita* encompasses in its ambit the saga of five births, marked by a plethora of episodes, situations and events elevating and frustrating and forms there by a well-knit long narrative. Yet, the author chose to treat it with fanfare evidently to open up new vistas to air his manifold equipment with a vengeance. While it merits esteem, it willy-nilly has swelled the bulk of the narrative still further, and tends to sap, rather unkindly, the reader's patience. Despite that it provides sumptuous fare to the connoisseur, bringing into bold relief the poetic prowess of the poet.

Jinapāla Upādhyāya, as borne out by The Author's *Praśasti* appended to the *SKCC,* belonged to the Pravaravajra branch of Candrakula. The spiritual sect was sequentially adorned by a series of Colossui, who contributed substantially to the elevation of the faith and enrichment of literature. Of them Jinesvara Sūri won a resounding victory in a disputation with the followers of the Cailyavāsī sect, Abhayakumāra performed the stupendous feat of elucidating the nine Angasūtras and Jinavallabha Sūri is said to have excelled Māgha in poetic excellence.[2] Jinapati Sūri, who succeeded Jinacandra Sūri on the spiritual seat was a man of many parts, and towered above his predecessors. He was a brilliant commentator, powerful orator and well-versed in several disciplines.[3] Jinapāla, the author of the *SKCC* was a humble pupil *(Śiṣyaleśa),* rather a firm devotee *(ekāntabhakta)* of Jinapati Sūri.

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While the Prasasti affords valuable information about his predecessors, it is naggingly silent about the author himself. However, as revealed by his *Kharataragacchālaṁkāra-yugapradhānācārya-gurvāvatī (Khagur).* Jinapāla was initiated into the order by Jinapati Sūri in V.S. 1225 (1168 A.D.) at Puskara.[4] As many as twenty six years intervened before he earned the title of Vācanācārya or Gaṇi in V.S. 1251 (1194 A.D.).[5] And it was after another eighteen years that he was elevated as Upādhyāya in V.S. 1269 (1212 A.D.).[6] He defeated a Kashmirian Brahmana, Pt. Manodānanda in a disputation in V.S. 1273 (1216 A.D.) and was duly honoured for victory by Pṛithvīrāja, the ruler of Nagarkot.

Jinapāla seems to have been a popular teacher. Many a pupil received instructions from him in various disciplines. Candratilaka Gani, the author of the *Abhayakumāracarita (AKC),* written in V.S. 1312 (1255 A.D.), was also taught the Agmic texts by him. He had also been instrumental in inspiring him to compose the *AKC.*[7]

Jinapāla seems to have been a gifted commentator as well. His *Vṛtti* on the *Ṣaṭsthānakaprakaraṇa* was written in V.S. 1262 (1205 A.D.). M. D. Desai is unequivocal in the assertion that, Jinapāla composed his *magnum opus,* the *SKCC,* after he had completed the *Vṛtti* on *Ṣaṭsthānakaprakaraṇa.*[8] As the current edition of the *SKCC* is based on the Ms written in V.S. 1278 (1221 S.D.), it is believed that the *SKCC* was composed between the two limits drawn by the *Ṣaṭsthānakavṛtti* and the Ms of the poem, V.S. 1262 and 1278 (= 1205-1223 A.D.). However that seems to militate against the eternal evidence of the *SKCC,* astutely provided by the poet himself. The expression *Jinapālagaṇi viracitam* ingeniously interwoven in XXI.112, proves it beyond a shred of doubt that the *SKCC* was written at a time when Jinapāla still retained the title of Gaṇi, and had not been promoted to the status of Upādhyāya, which was done in the year V.S. 1269 (1212 A.D.). Since he was made Gaṇi in V.S. 1251 (1194 A.D.), it would be logical to assign the *SKCC,* to the period between V.S. 1251 and 1269 (= 1194-1212 A.D.). Jinapāla is known to have resolved the poem with a perceptive auto-commentary, which sadly has not come to light so far.

However, his literary activities extended far beyond the poem of his other original writings, the *Khargur,* being a reliable account of the earlier pontiffs of the

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Kharataragaccha, is invested with considerable historical significance. The *Svapnavicāra*, a Prakrit poem in 28 *Gāthās,* seeks to interpret the eight dreams seen by King Hastipāla, a contemporary of Lord Mahāvīra; the *Svapnavicārabhāṣya* purports to be an exposition of the dreams; the *Jinapatisūripañcāśikā* is a warm eulogy of the author's *guru,* Jinapati, the *Saṁkṣiptapausadhavidhivivaraṇa* is a tiny poem comprised of fifteen *Āryās* in Prakrit.

Jinapāla's skill in elucidating hard texts is evident from the writings he has explained with his commentary or gloss. While The *Ṣaṭsthānakaprakaraṇa* by Jineśvara Sūri, Jinavallabhasūri's *Dvādaśakulaka* and *Dharmaśikṣā,* a pedagogic work in forty verses claimed commentaries from him; he has sought to resolve *upadeśarasāyaṇa,* an *Apabhramśa* poem. *Pañcalingīvivaraṇa* of Jinapati Sūri, which itself is an exhaustive commentary on Jineśvara Sūriś *Pañcalingī,* and Jinadatta Sūri's small *Apabhramśa* poem *Carcarī* consisting of forty seven verses.

Genius of the *SKCC*

The *SKCC* purports to be a mix of several strands of *mahākāvya* which makes it difficult to pin-point its genius with precision. The exhaustive descriptions of the earlier births of the *dramatis personae*, and the tendency to attribute their present status and predicament to the operation of their past *karmans* (actions) which combine to determine the Puranic character of a poem, emerges as its major characteristic. The life account of Sanatkumāra Cakrī, the hero of the poem is spread over five births, while that of Nāgadatta spans four. It is King Vikramayaśāḥ of Kañcanapura who is born as Cakravartī Sanatkumāra, after he had undergone three intermediary births, while the mount of the Lord of the Sudharma heaven was none else but Nāgadatta, a wealthy merchant. It is a measure of the relentless operation of the doctrine of *Karma* that (Vikramayaśāḥ as) Jinadharma becomes the ruler of the Sudharma heaven and enjoys unending happiness as a result of the hard austerities undertaken by him after suffering excruciating agony with amazing equipoise, his sustained penance ultimately culminating in his birth as a Cakrī. Nāgadatta, on the other hand, was condemned to be a lowly mount of Saudharmapati and to suffer untold misery under the goad because of his inflicting severe agony on Jinadharma in an earlier birth.

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True to the character of the Puranic writings, the *SKCC* is infested with a series of supernatural and miraculous events which defy credence. The gods, demigods and mortals rule shoulders together in the poem with incredible ease. Two of the gods descend upon Hastinapur to feast on the phenomenal beauty of the Cakravarti, which, however, vanishes in a Trice to the surprise of one and all. Sanat turns the colour of his thumb at the mere touch of his spittle. The dense forest was surprisingly dotted with beautiful lakes and mansions inhabited by the Yaksas and Vidyādharas. Mahendrasimha wanders for long in the same frightful jungle, in search of his friend, braving all hazards, with not a shred of harm coming to him at any stage. And he is able to identify his friend, of all of the means by the notes of a sweet song embodying his patronymic Āśvaseni.

Multiple marriages, abductions, change of forms, murder through sorcery and such other gimmicks/motifs that essentially belong to the folk or romantic literature, are also not wanting in the *SKCC*. A demizen of heaven comes to the prince in the garb of a physician to care him of the ailment. King Vikramayaśāḥ had Viṣṇuśrī kidnapped by some one incognito. Prince Sanatkumāra is abducted by Asitākṣa out of malice. While the prince survives the evil operation, Viṣṇuśrī is disposed of through the application of the devastating *mantras*. And Sanatkumāra goes on a wedding spree in the fearsome jungle, marrying as many as 109 girls at different points of time.

In consonance with the spirit of the Puranic poem, the *SKCC* opens with a lengthy benediction, and seeks to eulogise the Jainistic faith to highlight its glory running down the rival faiths in the process.

In view of these vital features of the Puranic writings, the *SKCC* may well be claimed to be a Puranic *mahākāvya*. It is however characterised with equal tenacity by the trends that form the warp and weft of the literary poems. It is written in a flamboyant style with all the trappings that are intimately connected with it. As noted earlier the narrative, though vast and cohesive, and as such needing nothing extraneous to bring it in tune with the bulk of a comprehensive poem, has been consciously inflated with a number of lengthy descriptions of the diverse phenomena. Its ornate language marked by a wealth of intricate grammatical forms, would do credit to any literary writing. The visible eagerness

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of the poet to parade his manifold equipment and expertise in the craft of *citrakāvya*, dogged application of figures of speech, use of a legion of rare metres and fascination for embellishment, besides the general tenor of the poem, leave little doubt that it was not intended to be a pedestrian Puranic writing. In view of the fact that the two characters of the *SKCC* are almost evenly balanced, it would be logical to call it as an ornate - puranic poem. It was perhaps what its great author intended it is be.

Narrative

Contents of the *SKCC:* Vikramayaśāḥ, the king of Kañcanapura in Bhāratavarṣa, was a powerful and benevolent ruler. His harem was infested with as many as five hundred women, who were the peers of the heavenly nymphs. Once the king chanced to have a glimpse of Vīṣṇuśrī, the comely wife of Nāgadatta, a wealthy merchant of the town. He was immediately thrown out of gear by her phenomenal beauty. Though conscious of the untenability of his action, he had her kidnapped by someone incognito (i) unable to resist the cravings of the flesh, he strives hard to lure her into the trap, promising her power, pelf and much else. Her initial indifference apart, Viṣṇuśrī falls to his persistent pleadings. (*tvadekatānāhm iti pratīhi,* II 39). They are immediately lost in endless carnel pleasures. Holding her responsible for their neglect, the inmates of the harem have her eliminated through a reckless sorcerer. Nāgadatta is aghast at the loss of his wife (ii) Viṣṇuśrī's sudden death sends the king into wild frenzy. He goes to the cemetery to have her last glimpse. Seeing her mutilated body covered with worms, and giving out foul smell, he was overwhelmed with a sense of detachment. He undertakes vigorous austerities as a result of which he is born as Sanatkumāra in the heaven (iii) Vikramayaśāḥ is now born at Ratnapura as Jinadharma. Nāgadatta takes birth as Agniśarmā, an ugly vedist. He once comes to Ratnapura, and is invited by its Śaivite ruler Harivāhana to conclude his fast with him. As he comes face to face with Jinadharma in the assembly, his animus of the previous birth is aroused. He insists that he would conclude the fast only if he was served hot *khira* on Jinadharma's back. (iv) The king yields to the devastating demand. Jinadharma suffers the agony unmoved. His back is burnt under the vessel, blood trickles down and the bones peep out. Taking it to be the result of his earlier *karmas,* he undertakes hard penance. He is born as Śakra in the Saudharma heaven as a

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reward of his austerities (v) Agniśarmā is condemned to the status of Śakra's mount (= elephant). After enjoying manifold pleasures, the lord of Sudharma is born as Cakrī (vi) Of Sahadevī, queen of Aśvasena, the ruler of Hastinapur. The king greets the son's birth with great festivities (vii) The child is named Sanatkumāra, and is appointed as crown prince at the advent of youth (viii) The prince goes to the garden to enjoy vernal festivities. While returning home in the evening, the horse loses its nerve and darts to a fearsome jungle (ix) Mahendra, Sanat's childhood friend launches a vigorous search for the prince but draws a blank (x) It was after five-six months that he found him in a palace in the company of a comely girl, the peer of Rati. He was besides himself with joy on meeting his friend (xi).

At Sanat's instance Bakulamatī relates to Mahendra all that transpired after the horse ran a mock. The horse ran ceaselessly and stopped next day in the jungle when the sun was high in the sky. While wandering in search of water, Sanat fell into swoon but came to his own on drinking water fetched by a yakṣa (xii) However, another yakṣa named Asitākṣa attacked the prince for no reason but was routed in the combat. (xiii) Sanat thereafter reaches the place where eight lovely daughters of Bhānuvega, the lord of Vidyādharas, were enjoyed in a singing spree. They were enamoured of Sanat's charms, and took him in their palace. Sanat spends the night there (xiv). At Bhānuvega's request he weds his (eight) daughters. The marriage is solemnized with due rites (xv). Asitākṣa abducts Sanat while he was asleep and leaves him in the forest. As he awoke, he was amazed to find himself in the new surroundings (xvi).

Sanat meets a woman named Sunandā wailing in a seven-storey palace (xvii). She expresses her resolve to marry him. In the mean while the Vidyādhara who had abducted and brought her there, appears on the scene. He was soon locked into a combat with Sanat but was eliminated ere long. On hearing of her brother's end, the Vidyādhara's sister comes to wreak vengeance on the prince, but falls for his charms and marries him then and there (xviii). Aśanivegas plea to Bhānuvega to punish his errant son-in-law, Sanatkumāra, for the crime of killing his (Aśanivega's) son, was turned down with scorn, telling him that the prince was above board (xix). That provokes the Vidyādhara chief, Aśanivega, to embark upon attacks on Bhānuvega and Sanat. The ensuing battle spills over two cantos.

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Sanat comes out with flying colours (xx-xxi). Sanat descends upon Aśanivega's strong hold and marries his hundred daughters Bakulamatī and others. Bakulamatīś story ends here. On hearing from his friends that his parents were aghast at his loss, the prince leaves for Hastinapur with his retinue.

Aśvasena greets his son with fanfare. Two deities disguised as Brahmanas come to the prince to see his exceptional beauty that had evoked esteem even from the lord of heaven. They were, however thrown into turmoil to find that his charms had disappeared before their eyes. As he heard from them that he was destined to die within six months, and his beauty had already deserted him, Sanat was overtaken by revulsion for mundane life and its pleasures (xxiii). He concluded his fast with whey of goat's milk after prolonged austerities. That afflicted him with seven deadly diseases, but he continued with the hard penance undeterred. The god who had actually come to him in the garb of a Vaidya to test his equanimity in the trying hour offers to cure him of the ailments. The Cakrī plainly told him that he himself was competent to cure his physical diseases, if, however he was sure of curing him of the spiritual disabilities, he could take a chance. And he proved his credentials as a Vaidya by changing the colour of his finger by the mere touch of his spittle. Impressed by his feat, the physician revealed his identity and begged his pardon, showering fulsome praise on him. The Cakrī recalled the *pañcaparameṣthī mantra*, and attained Śivatva, salvation (xxiv).

The *SKCC* is rich in contents. Abounding in an array of vicissitudes, episodes and events, the vast narrative is happily marked by cohesion and reasonable flow. Some parts of the narrative present a study in contrast and thereby lend vibrance to the poem. The initial vacillation of the king to have Viṣṇuśrī kidnapped and their torrid love-sports soon thereafter in Canto Two, Agniśarmā's devastating demand to serve the dainty to him on Jinadharma's back, and the latter's readiness to suffer the agony on that score in Cantos Four and Five, the king's devotion to Viṣṇuśrī and his subsequent repulsion caused by her mangled body in Canto Three, Viṣṇuśrī's rebuttal of the kings pleadings and her submission to him not long after in Canto Two, Sanat's adherence to the Jainistic norms and his frequent combats and killings, though apparently irreconsilable are not out of tune with the parameters of the poem. The massive account of Sanatkumāra's martial and marital exploits, as related by Bakulamatī to his friend Mahendra, has the

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trappings of a folk stuff, but forms an inalienable part of the saga of the Cakrī's life as detailed in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpurusacarita* of Hemacandra[10] to whom Jinapala is indebted for the narrative. With a well-connected and extensive narrative, the *SKCC* does not need any extraneous prop to sustain it. Despite that, it has been stuffed with lengthy descriptions of the diverse phenomena prescribed by the poeticians. With imaginative handling of the descriptions, the poem could have been spared of the unnecessary bulk, without impairing their effect.

Depiction of Rasa

Poetry in Indian thought is synonymous with the aesthetic pleasure, *rasa,* which, in view of its noble over tones, is raised to the status of Brahma[12], the ultimate bliss. While the earlier poeticians featured equal status to all the sentiments in the *mahākāvya*[13], it was Ānandavardhana who first postulated their *angāngibhāva,* the relationship of dominance and subordination, which, in his view served to heighten the cumulative effect of the burly poem.[14] Viśvanātha, on the other hand, advocated the choice of the dominant / main sentiment from the trinity of Śṛṇgāra, Vīra and Śānta.[15]

With its extensive narrative marked by an unending array of events and vicissitudes, the *SKCC* provides alluvial soil for the spectrum of human feelings and emotions to sprout and blossom to the delight of the connoisseur. Jinapāla measures well to give them effective voice leading to an exuherance of sentiments in the poem. Almost all the major sentiments have found effective expression in the *SKCC*, that combine to impart it a grandear of its own. While in view of the genius of the story and the sublimation that it has undergone, Quietitude, the Sānta rasa, may be rated as its *angirasa,* some other sentiments also emerge with considerable intensity and heighten by contrast, the glory of the principal sentiment.

Of the ancillary sentiments, Śṛṇgāra is fostered with such tenacity that it may well stand up to the dominant sentiment. It emerges with force in the torrid love-sports of Vikramayaśāḥ and Viṣṇuśrī. What followed her concurrence to the king's advances was an orgy with abandon. He sported for days together in the *Kelivāpī* of cupid, that she was drawing maximum pleasure (*prāptātulaśrīḥ,* II.44). He was

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so lost in the carnal pleasures that the functions of all other sense organs seemed to have shifted to his *tvagindriya*. And such was his fascination for her that he could not afford to lose her sight even for a moment.

कदापि तत्पीनकुचामशारि ग्रहाग्रहाद्यूतविनोदसक्तः ।
सार्धं तया तत्करदत्तदृष्टिर्दिनं समग्रं क्षणवन्निनाय ॥ *SKCC*, II.46

सकामतृष्णातिशयो निरन्तरं विसारिदन्तांशुसुधाप्लवाचिताम् ।
पपौ स विस्फारितलोललोचनश्चकोरवत्तन्मुखचन्द्रचन्द्रिकाम् ॥ *SKCC*, II.48

तथाऽभवत् तत्सुरतावमग्नो यथोज्झितान्यप्रियकाम्यराशेः । *SKCC*, II.49
शेषेन्द्रियाणामपि वृत्तयोऽस्य त्वगिन्द्रियं नूनमनुप्रविष्टाः ॥

यथेन्दुमौलिः सततानुरागाद् गिरीन्द्रपुत्र्याः क्षणमप्ययोगम् ।
त्रिस्रोतसो वा सलिलाधिनाथस्तस्यास्तथा नैच्छदसौ क्षितीशः ॥ *SKCC*, II.50

Carnal longing (*ratibhāva*) for the prince is evident in the city-damsel's impatience to have a glimpse of him, as he returned in the metropolis after long absence. This is what drove them to rush (*tāditeva madanena*), unmindful of their look and dress (XXII 6-9).

Vipralambha finds powerful expression in Nāgadatta's wails over his wife's abduction. His body dried up and senses lost vigour. He lost his equipoise and indulged, almost like an insane person, in wild acts. The anguish that had wounded his heart beyond redemption is effectively voiced in the garb of his relentless wails.[16] It is a measure of the author's skill in depicting *Vipralambha* that while high highlighting Sunandā's pangs of separation that had reduced her to an emotional wreek, the ten agonising states (*manodaśās*) that the separated lovers are said to undergo, have also been detailed sequentially in poetic terms (XVIII. 14-22). The fact that her miserable plight was related by Sunandā herself to Sanat, whom she had not known by then as the person she was pining for, heightens their poignancy beyond measure.

With many a battle fought on its vast canvas, the Heroic sentiment was expected to emerge with strength accordant with the majesty of the *mahākāvya*. With heads rolling, streams of blood flowing and volleys of arrows flying. The terrific

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encounters between the armies of Sanatkumāra and Aśanivega, may be taken to broadly reflect the fighting skills of the combatants, giving rise to the Heroic sentiment, but it seems to be a fanciful exercise overburdened with hackneyd mannerism (XX 84, 91, 94, 99).

Sanatkumāra's encounter with Aśanivega that follows in Canto XXI, also leaves one cold. Aśanivega does his utmost to overpower the prince. But all the weapons, missiles and stratagems employed by him were uniformly foiled by the doughty Kumāra. As Aśanivega geared up to engage Sanat in a duel, the prince severed his head with his *Cakra.* Like the preceding one, the encounter is a tailored exercise. It is so designed that Aśanivega was bound to lose and Kumāra was sure to come out victorious. More than giving a realistic account of the battle, the author means to demonstrate his skill in crafting the fearsome *Citrakāvya.* Therefore the *Vīrarasa* that rises from the exercise is subdued.

शिल्पमस्त्रं बलं मन्त्रं यद्यदाविश्चकार सः ।
समूलकाषं न्यकषत् तत्तदेष महाबलः ॥ XXI 103

नियुद्धाधानबुद्ध्याऽसौ विसारितभुजद्वयः ।
रंहसाऽधावदुर्वीशस्तं प्रतीभ इवाकरः ॥ XXI 105

आक्रोशन्नुच्चकैश्चैष महाबीभत्सदर्शनः ।
राजाऽपि न रराजैव सर्वः शस्योऽनुरूपकृत् ॥ XXI 106

मनोऽङ्गगीरशुद्धेन स्पर्शो माभून्ममामुना ।
इतीवाऽऽराल्लुलावास्य शिरश्चक्रेण चक्रभृत् ॥ XXI 107

The Heroic sentiment comes out with greater vigour in Sanat's combat with Asitāksa, but the intercession of the Vidyādhara girl's robs it of its sting (XIII 116-121).

Though abominable in character, *Bībhatsa* emerges with full intensity in the Masterly pen-picture of Viṣṇuśrī's festering body in Canto Three. Her mutilated body covered with worms, oozing blood and letting out foul smell with birds of prey pecking at it, represented the ultimate in repulsion. It is *jugupsā* - repulsion - galore that culminates in the *Bībhatsarasa.*

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तत्र द्विकस्फोटितनेत्रयुग्मामपश्यदस्पृश्यतमावमाङ्गीम् ।
क्षतस्रवत्पूयरसप्लवार्द्रां मूर्त्तामिवान्यायजपापपङ्किम् ॥ III 31

मृताहिकौलेयकमुख्यदेहिप्रभूतदेहाक्रमसर्पिगन्धात् ।
अत्युत्कटं गन्धमरं किरन्तीं दिक्चक्रवालं परिवासयन्तम् ॥ III 35

Drawn with vigour it would cause nausea even to the stone.

The fearsome *aṭavī*, where Mahendra lands in search of his friend, forms the most appropriate venue for the sentiment of terror to erupt. A replica of ferocity, it was a happy hunting ground for *Kāla* to operate. Serpents crawled there in legion. Vultures and others of their ilk fell upon the dead with menacing sound. The frightful hootings of the owls sent even the birds of prey into hiding. The frightening scenario conjured up by the intimate description of the *aṭavī* sends terror down to one's spine (X 31, 32, 38).

Karuṇa finds expression in the piteous cries of the king over Viṣṇuśrī's sudden death. The grief reduced him to an emotional wreck. So pathetic were his wails that the assembly hall was shaken to its moorings. He had all but lost his mental balance. How the tender body that felt ill at ease on the flower-bed would stand the leaping flames of fire?

उत्थाय चैनां निजमङ्कमाशु प्रारोपयद् दुर्वहकाययष्टिम् ।
बालामिवानङ्गविमोहिता वा किं नाध्यवस्यंत्यतिदुष्करं यत् ॥ III 9

रुदन् क्षणं गानपरो हसंश्च जजल्प सासूयमनल्पमेषः ।
उद्दिश्यतां स्त्रीषु हि शोकभाजां वृत्तिः कुलस्त्यास्तु शुभैकरूपा ॥ III 10

तामङ्कतस्तस्य विलुप्तबुद्धेः कथञ्चिदाकर्षति बन्धुवर्गे ।
उच्चैः स चुक्रोश तथा यथाऽस्य स्वनैः सभाऽपि स्फुटति स्म नूनम् ॥ III 13

Depiction of *Vātsalya* in Canto Eight is heartwarming. It crops up in fulsome exuberance in the happy description of the childhood pranks of Sanat. It is a measure of the vigour of the sentiment that it is said to impart bliss that the yogins experience by sustained austerities (*yogīndragamyām samavāpa kāñcin mudam*, VIII 2). The child's indistinct lipsings, fumbling steps, ambrosial touch and pulling the father's beard transported one and all to heavenly joy. The

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phenomenon is described in poetic terms which heightens the appeal of the sentiment, fostered with perceptible warmth.

तदास्यपद्मं परिचुम्बतोऽस्य मधुव्रतस्येव बभूव तस्य । VIII 4
तृष्णातिरेकोऽभिमतान्निवृत्तिः क्व सेव्यमानादपि वा सदा स्यात् ॥

वचोऽपि तस्याऽस्फुटवर्णभेदं सुधाममंस्तक्षितिपः स्वकर्णे । VIII 5
स्वाधीनकान्तेव रुतं पिकस्य किं किं न मोदकाय हि बालकानाम् ॥

स्खलत्पदं क्रामति मन्दमन्दं शिशाववष्टब्धकराङ्गुलीके । VIII 6
धात्र्या धरित्री पतिराबबन्धदृष्टिं नवे चन्द्र इवोदयस्थे ॥

The *SKCC* finds its culmination in the noblest of the sentiments, the *Śāntarasa.* The humdrum of the successive births dissolves itself in the mighty ocean of the *Aṅgī rasa.* Its most telling expression is found in Canto Twenty Three in the introspective loud thinking of Sanatkumāra, the *prima donna* of the poem. As the prince finds to his chagrin that his famed physical beauty has vanished into thin air in a moment, he is overtaken by strong aversion is the fickleness of human existence and hollowness of the world by pleasures. He is filled with remorse that he wasted his life on useless pursuits and did not exert to realise the essence of life which elevates one from the worldly snares. His *nirveda* emerges with a vengeance in his musings that unfold themselves in the ennobling Quietitude, the *Śāntarasa.*

व्याधयोऽपि पटुतापहारिणो दाववन्निविडतापकारिणः ।
तैरहर्निशमिह ग्रहैरिव ग्रस्तशस्तवपुषः कुतः सुखम् ॥

सर्वमेवमशुचिस्थिरेतरद् दुर्गतेरनुपमं निबन्धम् ।
क्षप्यते नवपतङ्गवज्जनिः किं मयाऽत्र सजता दृशो प्रिये ॥

पश्यताऽपि पशुनेव बालिशेनेदृशं भवभवं न वेदितम् ।
वस्तुविस्तृततमस्तया मया कौशिकप्रतिकृतिं वितन्वता ॥

मामधन्यतममाप्तसम्पदो हारिणं सुकृतदूरगत्वतः ।
धिग् धिगत्यरसपोषणच्छलात् स्वस्य दुर्गति रस प्रपोषकम् ॥ XXIII 98-101

तत्कुलीन इव भृत्यं ईश्वरं यावदुज्झति न मां वपुर्बलम् ।
तावदेतदतिदुष्करेऽपि सत्कर्मणि न्यासितुमेव साम्प्रतम् ॥ XXIII 107

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Depiction of Natural Phenomena : *Prakṛticitraṇa*

Nature has been an inalienable part of Sanskrit poetry right from the Vedic time. The *Prakṛticitraṇa* on the *mahākāvya* serves to lend the unitrack theme a measure of beauty and variety. In keeping with the well-entrenched tradition, the *SKCC* is dotted with lovely descriptions of a spectrum of natural phenomena. Jinapāla's approach to Nature has doubtless been traditional, though his fascination for the scenic beauties is beyond question. Even if stereotyped, they merit esteem for poetic excellence and telling expression. Jinapāla revels in personifying nature. To him the Nature is not a lifeless entity. It vibrates with a variety of emotions, and responds to human weal and woe under various situations. The cloud in the rainy season emerges as a powerful ruler. With a view to establish himself as the undisputed sovereign of the land, he has liquidated his rival, the summer, in a deadly swoop with his army of cranes. Now, in the light of the lightening flashes, he is out to find his lady love Tṛṣṇā (heat/thirst) that had oppressed the people undeterred, having already sent a strong warning to her in the form of his deafening thunder to surrender ere long.

यत्राम्मोमृन्नरेन्द्रो रचयितुमिव साम्राज्यमेकातपत्रं
युक्तः सैन्यैर्बकानां प्रतिनृपतिमिव ग्रीष्ममुच्छिद्य मूलात् ।
तृष्णां तस्यैव कान्तां हननसमुचितां तापिकां विष्टपस्यास्या-
न्वेष्टुं विद्युत्कटाक्षैः कटु रटति रुषा व्योम्नि गर्जापदेशात् ॥ XI 2

In the backdrop of the evening, the sun conducts himself as a gallant hero and the quarters as a pack of envious co-wives. As the *Śathanāyaka* of sun repaired to the occidental hill to make love with the lady of the western quarter turning 'her' red, the faces of the jealous co-wives blackened the simple phenomenon of sun-set turning, all the quarters, except the west, dark comes to pulsate with life by assigning human behaviour to the sun.

Jinapāla is at his best in the ornate description of nature. A large number of descriptions of the natural phenomena in the *SKCC* are enlivened by a variety of *aprastutas*, which combined with serene phraseology and poetic flourishes, impart them winsome charm and effect. The reflection of the setting sun in the rivers and ponds is a phenomenon that hardly merits notice. However, in the poet's

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perception it is not the red sun that is reflected there. The rivers, he fancies, are flooded with the blood of the Cakora's hearts, split with the agony of the impending separation.

भविष्यदासन्नवियोगविस्फुटच्चक्राह्वचेतः क्षतजेन सम्प्लुतम् ।
रक्तं जलं नूनमधुस्तदापगाः सन्ध्याभ्रारागप्रतिबिम्बचुम्बितम् ॥ XIV 37

The poet's fancy soars equally high in drawing an effective picture of the night enveloped in darkness (XIV.43).

The Prakṛti in the *SKCC,* also serves as an inflaming agent. The mild glimmer of the fire-flies, cool wind wafting water-drops around, croaking of the frogs, and shrieks of the pea-cocks serve to what the impatience of the separated women pining for the vicinity of their husbands.

खद्योतैर्द्योतमानैर्नभसि भुवि जलासारवद्भिर्मरुद्भि -
र्भेकक्वाणैः सरस्सु द्रुततिषु शिखिनां ताण्डवाडम्बरैश्च ।
सोत्कण्ठा सर्वतोऽपि प्रतिदिनमबला यत्र चाधीयमाना
भर्तृष्वाक्रोशमुच्चैर्ददति चिरतरप्रोषितेष्वप्रसन्नाः ॥ XI 14

His penchant for *Vakrokti* apart, Jinapāla is deeply enamoured of the undiluted natural beauties of nature, which he loves to depict with verve at places more than one. The description of the *ālambana* form of Prakṛti unfolds the genius of the phenomenon in its undisguised beauty. And of all, it is the oppressive summer that has claimed the most winsome description of the phenomenon inherent in it, though what passes as depiction of its *ālambana* form is occasionally marked by a modicum of literary trappings.

The summer, as it breaks out, causes havoc all around. The sun burns like wild fire. Puffs of dust blind the eyes. Even the worms holed in the trunks of the worn out trees, are burnt with *cat-cat* sound. The streams are reduced to a trickle, and the mountains are denuded of verdour. It is indeed a deterring scenario.

उन्मूलयन्ति सच्छायानपि वान्तो महीरुहान् ।
उत्ताला वायवो यत्र क्व वा चण्डेषु मार्दवम् ॥ X 59

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अन्धत्वमिव यच्छन्ति यत्र ग्रामेषु योषिताम् ।
रेणूत्करा भृशं सान्द्रा वात्योत्क्षिप्ता दिने दिने ॥ X 61

यत्र जीर्णतरुस्कन्धोत्कीर्णच्छिद्रशताश्रयाः ।
अपि तापेन दह्यन्ते कीटकाश्चटका इव ॥ X 68

तटरुहतरुपत्रश्रीविलोपमाना दिव लघुतनिमानं सिन्धवः संश्रयन्ते ।
दवदहनविदीर्यद्वेणुनादैर्गिरीन्द्रा वनविभवविनाशं यत्र शोचन्ति नूनम् ॥ X 72

The ferocity of the summer is also sought to be underscored by skillfully highlighting the miserable plight of the animal life caused by the tormenting heat. The device though not new, serves to bring into relief the vagaries of the summer with added emphasis. Thus, the monkeys sit unmoved at midday, forsaking their inherent mischief. The king of jungle struggles to find a modicum of relief under a shady tree, wetting the scorching earth with the saliva dropping from its lolling tongue.

मध्याह्ने धर्मसंत्रस्ता वने चित्रगता इव ।
निसर्गचापलं हित्वा यत्र तिष्ठन्ति वानराः ॥ X 64

लोलज्जिह्वागलद्वारिसिक्त संतप्तभूमयः ।
यत्र छायास्वपि स्वास्थ्यं लभन्ते न मृगारयः ॥ X 66

वराहा अपि पङ्कानि न त्यजन्ति मृगा इव ।
यत्र छाया वनानीव घर्मदाहातिभीरवः ॥ X 69

The unassuming simple picture of the facets of the winter is equally winsome. The rustic sugarcane adds flavour to the life, warblings of the swans are music to the ear, cool air comforts one and all, the fragrance of the Kesara flowers tickles one beyond measure. A perfect *Svabhāvokti.*

इक्षूत्करो हंसरवश्च पुष्पितं वनं घनं केसुरपुष्पसौरभम् ।
यत्रानिलः शीतं उपास्यतेऽनिशं कथं न तत्र प्रमदोऽतुलो भवेत् ॥ XVI 79

Phenomena stretching from day-break to moonrise, and from the scorching summer to the salubrious winter, have evoked perceptive descriptions in the

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SKCC. They serve to relieve the tedium inherent in negotiating the long and complex narrative, besides adding delightful colour to the poem as a whole.

Depiction of Physical Beauties : *Saundaryacitraṇa*

Not unlike the *Prakṛticitraṇa,* the depiction of the physical charms of the *dramatis personae* had settled as a conspicuous feature of the Sanskrit *Mahākāvya.* Beginning with Kālidāsa, even earlier, the tradition has percolated to the contemporary era as well. The exercise is obviously intended to project the respective characters as paragons of physical beauty as much as that of moral and muscular strength. Jinapāla has been keen to bring in to relief the physical beauties of some of the characters in the *SKCC*. He has doubtless done it in the traditional manner, but it is to his credit that the *Saundaryacitraṇa* in the poem is enlivened by delightful poetry.

Jinapāla has resorted to the *nakhasikha* device to depict the beauties of the *dramatic personae*. This is how he has sought to capture the whole gamut of beauty of Sanatkumāra's person. He has sequentially described the respective parts of his body to highlight how they contributed to make him a highly personable hero. He has worked up appropriate imageries and used accordant figures of speech to do it with telling effect. His face appeared like a lovely lotus with a long stalk, shat up from the lake of beauty issuing from his body. His eyes extending upto the ears were two arrows placed there by cupid to overcome the whole world. His straight nose seemed to be the flag-staff of *Kāma.* The ruby-like lower lip, with beard lending it added charm, invited comparison with a Coral piece placed on an emerald plate. The dark *Śrīvatsa* mark on his broad brilliant chest put to shame the beauty of the dark antelope seated on a massive rock of the Sumeru mount. His thighs were like the two columns raised to commemorate cupid's *digvijaya.*

यद्यष्टमीयः क्षणदाधिनाथः क्रान्तो भवेदञ्जनबिन्दुनान्तः ।
तेनोपमीयेत ललाटमस्य कस्तूरिकास्थासकचित्रगर्भम् ॥ VIII 13

तस्याऽऽबभौ श्मश्रुविनीलपङ्क्तिः सौरभ्यपात्रं परितो मुखाब्जम् ।
भृङ्गावली नूनमपूर्वगन्ध-लुब्धोपविष्टा प्रविहाय पद्मम् ॥ VIII 17

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अंसस्पृशौ तस्य सुसन्निवेशे रराजतुः कर्णविलोलदोले ।
मृगेक्षणादृष्टिविलासिनीनामन्ददोलनायेव कृते विधात्रे ॥ VIII 18

तस्यांसकुम्भौ रुचिरौ सुपीनौ भातः स्म सौन्दर्यसुधारसेन ।
पूर्णौ वधूदृष्टिचकोरिकाणां तृप्त्यै धृतौ चित्तभुवैव नूनम् ॥ VIII 21

ऊरू तरुस्कन्धदृढौ तदीयौ रराजतुः कुङ्कुमकान्तिचौरौ ।
यावस्य दिक्चक्रजये प्रशस्ति स्तम्भश्रियं धारयतः स्म कान्तौ ॥ VIII 24

तस्याद्युतत् व्यायतबाहुशाखी वैडूर्यकेयूरमयूरशाली ।
यत्र ध्रुव ज्ञातिविशेषयोगादनर्त्ति रामेक्षणनीलकण्ठैः ॥ VIII 30

Sunandā's beauties have also been detailed in a similar vein. First the poet in wonderment hazards many a guess about her phenomenal charms (XVII. 10-12). Thereafter he launches upon the unending exercise of giving expression to the beauty of different parts of her body, from mouth to feet, by working up winsome imageries (XVII. 13-78). While its value as a piece of poetry is beyond question, it seems to have been blown out of proportion.

The depiction of Sahadevī's *saundarya,* however, stands on a different footing. It purports to be a connected account of her physical charms as a whole. She outshone in beauty even the goddess of beauty, Laksmi. The high and mighty failed miserably in extricating their sight once it plunged deep in the ocean of her beauty. She had no peer worth her name.

लावण्यकिञ्जलकचिते यदास्यपद्मे विलास्यक्षिमधुव्रताली ।
रसावमग्ना न ततः शशाकोन्मंक्तुं घनाज्जीर्णगवीव पङ्कात् ॥ VII 48

निजप्रभास्तोम परीतमूर्त्तिर्या दुग्धसिन्धून्मथनोल्लसन्त्याः ।
क्षीरच्छटाव्याप्ततनोर्हि लक्ष्म्याः कीर्त्तिं समग्रां परिलुम्पति स्म ॥ VII 51

नृरत्नसूः सूनृतवाग्विलासा योषित्स्वनन्यप्रतिमैव यासीत् । VII 53

Characterization

The *SKCC*, is crowded with many a character. The gods, demigods and mortals join hands to weave the warp and woof of the poem. However, most of them are stunted figures. The unnamed Yakṣa, and the legion of the Vidyādhara girls give

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quick flashes and disappear from the stage, their marriage with the prince notwithstanding. Even Asitāksa, Bhānuvega and Aśanivega, though they lock horns with the hero, do not have much to contribute, and fade away unsung. Aśvasena and Mahendrasimha, besides Sanatkumāra, the Cakrī, are the only figures, the contours of whose character/career develop partially or fully to merit a perceptive appraisal.

(i) Sanatkumāra is doubtless the principal character in the poem and may be accepted as its nāyaka, the hero. His career is spread over five births. The way he conducts himself, and all that transpires with him in the earlier births, would have to be included in his career to lend it fullness. In case that is excluded, his *Carita* as a Cakrī in the present birth would remain subdued.

Sanatkumāra's journey to the grandiloquent status of Cakravartī begins from Kañcanapura which he ruled as Vikramayaśāḥ. Despite his many virtues as a just, powerful and solicitous ruler, Vikramayaśāḥ is torn between kingly idealism and pleasures of flesh. He falls for Viṣṇuśrī, the charming wife of Nāgadatta, a wealthy merchant of the town, and has her kidnapped, though his harem was infested with as many as 500 women of exceptional beauty. He is not unaware of the untenability of his despicable act, yet he virtually coerces her through rosy promises to submit to him. And once that is done, he launches upon a sexual orgy with ferocity like a full-blooded 'lover'. It would be unfair to absolve him of the guilt even after his stinging self-introspection and expression of remorse.[17] Viṣṇuśrī's death however, throws him out of gear. It proves to be a turning point in his life. Overwhelmed with aversion,[18] he takes to austerities to escape the worldly snares.

His birth as Jinadharma reveals him as a serene person. He keeps his cool even when put to hard test by the king. He suffers agony caused by pouring burning *khīra* on his back without murmur, taking it all to be the operation of his old *karmans*. Austerities result in his elevation to the high heaven, after death, where he enjoys endless happiness as Saudharamapati.

It is in the next birth, the fifth one that he is born as Sanatkumāra to Aśvasena, the ruler of Hastinapur. The various aspects of his character now unfold themselves

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with cogence. He blossomed in to a personable young man to take on Kāmadeva; the ultimate in beauty. The *sātvikabhāvas* crop up in the young women the moment they chanced to see him. He was a man of phenomenal beauty which evoked esteem from even the lord of Heaven. Sunanda falls for him even before she had seen her. The eight comely daughters of Bhānuvega are swept of their feet at his first glimpse. So is Aśanivega's daughter who had come is wreak vegeance on him.

As a *dhīroddāta* hero, Sanatkumāra is equipped, besides physical beauty, with manifold virtues like compassion, civility and learning. His valour evokes special emphasis.[19] His fighting skills assert themselves in the many battles he had to fight. Aśanivega was liquidated by him in the long-drawn battle fought with deadly missiles. Like Jinadharma in an earlier birth, he is a resolute man, not vulnerable to adversities.

Even after acquiring the high status of Cakrī, Sanat is above the humdrum of mundane life. On finding that his famed beauty has vanished in a while, he is overcome by deep sense of detachment from the worldly existence. Initiated into asceticism, he undertakes sustained penance, that climaxes in his attaining the blessed state of salvation.

(ii) Aśvasena, the ruler of Hastinapur, has the proud privilege of being the father of Cakrī, the hero of the poem. He represents a happy mix of a fond father and a wise statesman. He greets Sanat's birth with great fanfare and gives profuse charities to celebrate the occasion He is so enamoured of the child that his mere sight or touch sends him into ecstasy (VIII.2). Sanat's mysterious disappearance, on the other hand, throws him into despair. He readies himself to embark upon a vigorous search for him. Though held back by his well-meaning advisers, he is deeply perturbed over his possible plight. And when the prince returns after a long absence, he warmly clasps him to the bosom, arranges festivities to greet him, and heaves a sigh of relief after long suffering.

Aśvasena is well versed in Nīti. The way he instructs him in the niceties of Nīti, bears testimony to his sound knowledge of the science of statecraft. To him the

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protection and welfare of the people is the highest duty of a ruler (VIII.63). A powerful ruler, he was a dread is the enemy, but a boon to his subjects.

यस्मिन् प्रजाः शासति चण्डशासने नैवान्वभूवन्प्रतिपक्षजव्यथाः ।
स्युः स्फूर्तिमन्मान्त्रिकरक्षितेषु किं भयानि भोगिप्रभवानि कर्हिचित् ॥ VII 36

(iii) Mahendrasimha is a close friend of the prince. He is sought to be projected as a selfless and ideal friend in the poem. It is he who takes upon himself the responsibility of finding out Sanat who had mysteriously disappeared while returning home from the vernal festivities. He braves the perils of the fearsome jungle, and vagaries of the weather without a murmur. His vigorous search happily culminates in the discovery of Sanatkumara.

Language

Besides Jinapāla's poetic talents, it is the vibrant language that has been instrumental in raising the *SKCC* to the high place it holds in the galaxy of the Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas.* The language used in the poem accords with the majesty and grandeur of *Mahākāvya.* Jinapāla's manifold equipment has invested the language of the *SKCC* with perceptible vigour. The sizable sprinkling of the recondite grammatical forms that the poem has received is a pointer to the importance he accorded to the forceful expression.[20] Jinapāla may not have meant to overburden the poem with long compounds, but some of the compounds worked up therein threaten to be sesquipedalian.[21] He is surely not free from the urge to parade his equipment in the science of grammar.

It may not be possible to pinpoint the different tiers of language in the *SKCC,* but it certainly has the resilience to voice in accordant phraseology the plethora of situations, emotions and sentiments in which the narrative abounds. Though marked by a modicum of variety, the language of the *SKCC* is by and large ornate. It is, however, a tribute to the vision and moderation of the author that the ornateness of his language is not divorced from lucidity. Occasionally the language has the bearing of Vaidarbhī, which is known for sweet phraseology and moderate or no compounds.[22] There are situations in the poem, where any other form of language would have throttled their genius. Jinapāla has wisely described them in a diaphanous phraseology which goes far to heighten their effect. It is to

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the credit of the author that even the armed encounters, doses of *Citrakāvya* apart, are couched in lucid and sober language befitting his concept of the resilience of the medium.[23] Onset of spring and Aśvasena's wise sermon to his son exemplify the sweetness and ease to which lucidity can be raised even by a well-equipped poet, who is otherwise enamoured of its ornateness.

ततः समाहूय कुमारराजं राजाऽऽदिदेश प्रणयप्रगल्भम् ।
वत्स ! प्रजापालनमेव धर्मः क्षोणीश्वराणां प्रथमः प्रतीतः ॥ VIII 63

दुष्टाऽक्षमित्वं नयशालिता च द्वयं तदङ्गं सहजं च तत्ते ।
सर्पाशनं प्रावृषि नर्त्तनं चानुशिष्यते केन नवः शिखण्डी ॥ VIII 66

तद्वत्स ! निष्पङ्कयशःप्रियेण षड्वर्ग एव प्रथम विजेयः ।
नाध्वंसिते संतमसे प्रकाशः प्रवर्द्धयते यद् भुवि भानुनाऽपि ॥ VIII 72

ज्ञानाङ्कुशेनाऽऽत्मवशो विधेयः कुमार्गगो यौवनमत्तदन्ती ।
न जातु लब्ध प्रसरो भुजङ्गः क्षेमाय कस्याऽपि महाविषः स्यात् ॥ VIII 74

पराक्रमः सर्वगुणेषु राज्ञां शस्यो विहङ्गेष्विव वैनतेयः ।
प्रकृष्टभावाद विकला हि तेन तृणादपि स्युर्लघवो नरेन्द्राः ॥ VIII 88

It is a measure of the author's expertise in handling its different contours that the lucid phraseology comes to assume different hues suited to the genius of the different contexts. While it is joy and serenity that respectively mark the description of spring (IX.4-7) and Aśvasena's *upadeśa* (VIII.63-88), dejection, helplessness and pathos (on the part of the public at large) mark the description of Sanat's departure to get initiated into asceticism.

नाथ ! किं वयमुपेक्षितास्त्वयाऽकाण्ड एव निविडागसो यथा ।
किं विहातुमुचितो निरंञ्जनः प्रेमवानपि हिमातुरङ्गजः ॥ XXIV 3

याचनस्त्वयि रतिः प्रियंकरे सा न पुत्रपितृसुन्दरीष्वपि ।
पुष्कराणि जलजान्यपि प्रियं भावुकं हि रविमेवमन्वते ॥ XXIV 6

तद्विधाय करूणां सुवत्सलोऽस्मासु तिष्ठ सुखयन् प्रजागृहे ।
प्रार्थिता न विमुखत्वमादधत्युन्नतप्रकृतयो हि कुत्रचित् ॥ XXIV 7

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Jinapāla's language is noted more for its *Vakrimā* or ornateness. And he has many devices in his armoury to foster it with vigour. Besides the intricate grammatical forms and long compounds, a number of complex alamkāras, more so the *citra*, have been assiduously fostered to lend force and a ring of complexity to the language. Aśanivega flies into rage on hearing of his son's murder by Sanat. The harsh language used to detail his anger is marked by a series of cereberal syllables and conjuncts which combine to strengthen its effect.

रेखात्रयं स भ्रुकुटौ कालदण्डत्रयाकृतिः ।
समं जगत्त्रयं हन्तुमिव दध्रे नृपस्ततः ॥ XIX 18

विदधद्भ्याभिवाशेषां सभां रक्तच्छटास्तृताम् ।
पाटलद्युतिचक्षुर्भ्यामुद्ववामेव स क्रुधम् ॥ XIX 19

विष्टपप्रत्तवित्रासैर्मुहुर्मूर्धविधूननैः ।
दशाऽपि दिक्पतीन् नूनं तर्जयामास कोपनः ॥ XIX 20

सर्वाङ्गेष्वतिरौद्रत्वं स महीयः समुद्वहन् ।
युगान्तोत्कटकोपस्य कृतान्तस्य दधौ श्रियम् ॥ XIX 22

It is, however, in Canto XXI that the worst violence has been perperated on the language in describing the battle royal between Aśanivega and Sanatkumāra. He has indulged in the worst literary gymnastics to craft verses that shun the use of a particular class of letters or the phraseology is so framed that it forms various types of *bandhas,* turning them into conundrums hard by ammeable to same interpretation. XXI.43-44 thus banish the five classes of 'stops' (*sparśa*) and are framed with semi vowles and sibilants. XXI.37 has been cooked up with syllables other than those of the guttural, labial, cereberal and dental classes. The number of *Citrakāvyas* used in the *SKCC* are said to out-number even those that are met with in Bhāravi, Māgha and Ratnākara. Some of them are noted here to give an idea of the author's fascination for this literary jugglery. Whatever their worth as an index to the author's skill in fabricating these riddles, they are an exercise in futility, so far as the modern taste is concerned. They have been rightly run down as '*adharma*' (worst) form of poetry.

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मुशलम्-तादृग् धनुर्धरो धीमानोजसा द्विषतां बलम् ।
लंघय-मोदिषु जनोमानी शक्रं जिगाय सः ॥ XXI 55

शक्तिः-महिमा कस्य न मुदे भिदे वातिभियोऽत्र हि ।
हिममानोरिवैतस्य ततस्तुतिमृतः प्रभाः ॥ XXI 61

छत्रम्-श्रीसद्मापि कुशेशयं ननु जडा सङ्गिस्फुरत्कुङ्कुम-
च्छायोऽप्यभ्युदयन् सुमास्समुपचेयाङ्कः शिवो मारहा ।
इत्थं कोऽपि न यस्य साम्यमभजद् वासस्य विश्वश्रियां
सोऽयं माननिधिः प्रतापतरणिः केनावनौ जीयते ॥ XXI 96

श्रीसनत्कुमारस्येति नामाङ्कं छत्रम्
निःश्रेणिका-गते विलक्षत्वमिति क्षमापतौ वलत्यनैकध्यमवध्यदेहिषु ।
पदं महास्त्रं हि बबन्ध सद्युति क्षणाद् भुजङ्गाकलनं रुषाचिते ॥ XXI.81

Jinapāla excels in drawing pen-pictures of the various phenomena that abound in the poem, with keen observation, sensitivity and hold on the medium, he has brilliantly captured all aspects of the object under focus. The pen-picture of Suvrata Sūrī in Canto Three purports to be a verbal replica of the monk.

सत्वानपायप्रणिधेर्विनम्रः पथि व्रजन्निश्चललोचनोऽभात् ।
विडम्बितानेकपयानलीलो महाव्रतप्राज्यभराद् ध्रुवं यः ॥ III 48

तपःश्रिया क्षामवपुर्विमुक्तो निःशेषभूषा परिकर्मभेदैः ।
तथापि विक्षिप्तगभस्तिमाली समुच्चरद् भास्वरधामलक्ष्म्या ॥ III 49

भङ्गच्चुत्तरासङ्गितशुद्धवासा यः श्यामकेशश्च बभार गौरः ।
सपाण्डुकोद्यानतुरीयभागाधः पाण्डुमेघावृतमेरुलीलाम् ॥ III 50

मुखेन्दुराजन्मुखवस्त्रिकश्च कथासु लेभे विरजा द्विजौघैः ।
निषेवितः प्रान्तनिविष्टहंस - राजीव - विभ्राजि -सरःश्रियं यः ॥ III 52

निधानमेकं महतां महिम्नां माध्यस्थभाग् यो जगतां विबोधम् ।
जाड्यस्पृशामप्यतनोत् क्षणेन पद्माकराणामिव चण्डरोचिः ॥ III 54

Figures of Speech

Whether technically a champion of the Alamkāra school or not, Jinapāla has undying fascination for the figures of speech. Such is his fondness for them and

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insight in their intricacies that he can conjure up, any moment, any *alamkāra* of his choosing, to deal with even the most insignificant phenomenon or object, and thereby invest it with an aura of poetic beauty. However, he has been judicious in their application. As used in the *SKCC*, the figures of speech serve to heighten the appeal of the poem and strengthen the expression. He has perceptible predilection for tough *Śabdālamkāras* like *Yamaka* and *Citra,* which enable the scholar-poet to flaunt his craftsmanship in the verbal jugglery. Based on the repetition of *Svaravyañjanasamhatiḥ, Yamaka* has been used in the poem, at places more than one the excerpts that follow merit notice.

रुषोत्तस्थौ महावेगो विद्युद्वेगसहोदरः ।
पपोद इव धौताऽस्त्र विद्युद्वेगसहोदरः ॥ XXI 18

न तेषु सदयो धीरो ये दुर्वृत्ता महाऽरयः ।
न तेषु सदयोऽधीरो धनदो दुष्कृताऽऽगमे ॥ XXI 26

He seems to have incorrigible fascination for the *Citrālamkāra* that leads to the formation of quaint diagrams and riddle-like verses. The instances noted earlier suffice to demonstrate his expertise in the verbal exercise.

Of the figures of speech of meaning, *Arthāntaranyāsa* has been employed almost, *ad infinitum*. It may justly be viewed as his favourite *alamkāra*. The frequency with which it has been used in the poem is simply amazing. More often than not it is the general statement that seeks to uphold the specific assertion in the earlier half of the verse. The general statement by its very nature settles down as a *Subhāsita* which the *SKCC*, is replete with *Vikramayaśāḥ* retired to the comfort of his palace after Viṣṇuśrī's death, but that afforded him no solace, since that was no match to the bliss that he had had with her. The truth enshrined in the later half of the verse, upholds what is stated in the *pūrvārdha*. One who has drunk at the nectar fount has no love for the water of the puddle.

तत्रापि वैराग्यविशेषशाली धाम्नीव दीप्ते स रतिं न लेभे ।
सुधारसच्छिन्नतृषो हि पुंसः सक्तिः कथं पल्वलवारिणि स्यात् ॥ III 45

Upamā has been used with a measure of tenacity. The *SKCC* is rich in delightful similes. The *upamānas* culled from a wide range of sources serve to bare with

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cogence what is alleged in the *upameya*. Both the abstract and concrete *upamānas* have been used in the poem with equal ease. The ferocious lions pursued the deer (and pounced upon them) as men's actions (*karmans*) follow them relentlessly (X.25). The frightful jungle illumined at various spots by the sheen of gems in the serpents' hoods looked like a night in the rainy season lighted by the glimmer of the fire-flies (X.21). *Mālopamā* that imparts more clarity to the *upameya* and there by heightens the appeal of the simile has also been used in the *SKCC*, at quite a few places. How Sanat shone with the glory of the crown-prince has been ably demonstrated by pressing into service as many as seven *upamānas*.

शीतांशु शरदेव पद्ममलिनेवेन्दुद्युतेवाम्बरं
हारेणेव कुचस्थलं पिकरुतेनेवाऽखिलं काननम् ।
हंसेनेव सरः स्मरस्मितविलासेनेव मुग्धानना
रेजे राजसुतः प्रजाप्रमदनोऽसौ यौवराज्यश्रिया ॥ IX 94

Utprekṣā facilitates the poet's imagination to soar high and thereby enlivens the contention under focus. The *SKCC* is rich in imageries, which are spread over the whole poem. None dared to cast a glance at the inmates of the king's harem. Thus, the poet fancies, was because of the fear that if once cast, it would sink in the ocean of beauty never to return.

दृष्टिर्यदन्तः पुरिकासु कामिन्नातस्य लोलाऽपि पपात नैव ।
उन्मज्जनाभावभयेन मन्ये लावण्यामृतकूपिकासु ॥ I 54

The form of *Atiśayokti* wherein an improbable proposition is conjured up, heightens the beauty of Sunandā's face. Moon and lotus are by themselves a poor match to it. It with its long braid could be compared with the moon only if it was followed by a row of black bees and with lotus if it had the peacock-feathers attached to it.

शशी यदि स्यान्मधुपालियुक्तः शिखण्डभारोद्धुरमम्बुजं वा ।
तेनोपमीयेत यदास्यचन्द्रः स्निग्धायतश्यामलवेणिदण्डः ॥ VII 52

Virodhābhāsa highlights the magnitude of the king's joy. Though his heart was as wide as the whole world, still it could not contain the joy caused by his partaking of the nectar of his darling's sweet words (II.40). *Dṛṣṭānta* emerges in the

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description of the phenomenon at the sun-set. Though the enemy of darkness, the sun had gone, the darkness did not spread all at once. Even when the lion is no more, the deer do not rush close to him, then and there.

गतेऽपि चास्तं तिमिरप्रमाथिनि क्षणं व्यजृम्भन्त न तामसाश्चयाः ।
मृगाधिराजे पतितेऽपि यन्मृगाः सद्यस्तदासन्नचरा भवन्ति नो ॥ XIV 38

Sandeha has been employed to describe the spread of darkness. Has the earth sunk into the earth's womb, or was shrouded with collyrium, or is held in an emerald cage or has sunk to the nether region.

किं गर्भवासस्थमुताऽञ्जनास्तृतं किं वोरुगारुत्मतपञ्जरं श्रितम् ।
अथाऽहिलोके पतितं जगत्तदेत्यवेदि सम्यग् न बुधेश्वरैरपि ॥ XIV 43

Besides these major figures of speech, *Rūpaka, Apahnuti, Bhrāntimān, Parisaṁkhyā, Mūdrā, Prativastūpamā, Viṣama, Ekāvalī, Aśaṅgati, Tiraskāra* and others join hands to lend clarity to the expression in the *SKCC*.

Metres

Jinapāla was deeply versed in the science of prosody as well. The way he has used an array of metres of all hues, leaves little doubt that he had mastered the nuances and mysteries of the *Chandaḥśāstra* in its entirety. And he loves to flaunt his equipment with undisguised ego. Otherwise no poet would deem it appropriate to employ *Apabhraṁśa* metres, bewildering varieties of the ubiquitous *Upajāti* and fearsome Daṇḍakas of various types, when equally emphatic alternatives are accessible. The plethora of metres used in *SKCC* are a drag on the narrative and strain the reader's patience beyond measure. It is a formidable task to identify the metres in the poem with certainty! The author has flouted with abandon the rhetorical injunction with respect to the use of one dominant metre in the Canto, changing it towards the close. Of the twenty four Cantos only three Cantos - XX, XXII, XXIII - adhere to the norm. The rest of the Cantos are infested with a number of metres, the fourteenth being weighed down with as many as thirty metres.

It would be futile to prepare a full-fledged catalogue of the metres used in the respective Cantos. All in all, seventy four metres have been dogeddly employed in

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the poem. They include *Apabhraṁśa* metres like Pādākulaka and Dvipadī, Daṇḍakas like Arṇa, Arṇava and Vyāla Caṇḍavṛṣṭi, and metres like Aparājitā, Ṛṣabhagajavilasita, Maṇiguṇanikara, Bhujagaśiśusṛtā, Pramāṇikā, Vāṇinī, Upacitra and Ketumatī that are seldom, if ever, used. The 74 metres used in the *SKCC* include seven *Mātrika* metres, 61 Equal metres, five Half equal metres and one unequal metre upajāti emerges as the most favourite metre of the author.

While it would be sentimental to rate him above masters like Bhāravi and Māgha, Jinapāla was by all standards a great poet of the Māgha - school of Sanskrit poetry. He is gifted with funds of poetic talents and is deeply versed in different branches of learning. With his phenomenal equipment he has produced a remarkable poem, though the narrative was severely circumscribed by the pre-determined parameters. The *SKCC* has doubtless stood the test of time.

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3. तस्य प्रभोः पादसरोजभृङ्गाः सद्वाक्प्रवाहेण निरस्तगङ्गाः ।
बभूवुरुज्जीवितशान्तिभिख्याः शिष्योत्तमाः श्रीजिनपत्यभिख्याः । *Ibid*, p. 17

4. *Khargur*, p. 23

5. *Ibid*, p. 44

6. *Ibid*, p. 44

7. सम्यगध्याप्य निष्पाद्य यश्चान्तेवासिनो बहून् ।
चक्रे कुम्भध्वजारोपं गच्छप्रासादमूर्धनि ॥

श्रीजिनपालोपाध्याय मौलेस्तस्यास्य सन्निधौ ।
मयोपादायि नन्द्यादिमूलागमाङ्गवाचना ॥

श्री जिनपालोपाध्यायकृतां त्रिःप्रेरणामहम् ।
चरित्रकरणे प्रापं सरस्वत्युपदेशवत् ॥ *Abhayakumāra - Carita*, Praśasti, 38-40

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8. *Jaina sāhitya no saṁkṣipta itihāsa*, p. 395

9. दृब्धं काव्यं सटीकं सकलकविगुणं तुर्यचक्रेश्वरस्य । *Sumati Gaṇi*

10. The Jaina Saga, English translation of *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākāpuruṣacarita* by Helen M. Johnson Ahmedabad, Part Two, p. 120-139

11. वदन्ति काव्यं रसमेव यस्मिन् निपीयमाने मुदमेति चेतः । Hammīramahākāvya, XIV.35

12. रसो वै सः रसं, ह्येवायं लब्ध्वानन्दी भवति । *Taitterīyopaniṣad,* II.7.1

13. युक्तं लोकस्वभावेन रसैश्च सकलैः पृथक् । Kāvyālaṅkāra, (Bhāmaha), I.21

14. प्रसिद्धेऽपि प्रबन्धानां नानारसनिबन्धने ।
एको रसोऽङ्गीकर्त्तव्यस्तेषामुत्कर्षमिच्छता ॥ *Dhvanyāloka,* III.21

15. शृङ्गारवीरशान्तानामेकोऽङ्गीरस इष्यते । *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* VI.327

16. विलुप्तदृष्टीव मुखं मनोरमं मृणालिनीमुक्तमिवेह मानसम् ।
व्योमेव शीतद्युतिचन्द्रिकोज्झित त्वया विना शून्यमिवेक्ष्यते गृहम् ॥ II.55

चित्रार्पितामप्यवलोक्य कान्तां दूरोन्नमद्बाहुरधावदेषः ।
किं नैष रोषो मयि कः कुतो वाऽवलोक्यसे चात्र मुहुः प्रजल्पन् ॥ II.60

व्यामील्य नेत्रे कमलासनस्थो योगीव चाव्यक्तमयं निदध्यौ ।
ध्यानावसाने च रिपाविवोग्रे दृष्टे हितेऽपि भ्रुकुटिं बबन्ध ॥ II.64

17. अन्यायमार्गे यदि चास्मि वर्ते न्यस्येत् पथि न्यायमये पदं कः । I. 81
न कामुकः पांसुरिवादधाति स्थितिं गुरूणां हृदि चन्द्रबिम्बे । II.8

18. विभावयंस्तद्वदसौ सखेदं समस्तमर्षं क्षणिकं भवस्थम् ।
कान्तानुरागादिव तत्प्रदेशान् नृपो न्यवतिष्टं विबुद्धतत्त्वः ॥ III.42

19. अपूर्ववीर्याश्रयिणश्च तस्य श्रुत्यापि विख्यातपराद्धर्यसौर्याः ।
चकम्पिरे वैरिनृपाः सभासु ग्रीष्मे निवातास्वपि लोलनेत्राः ॥ VIII.34

20. Some of the learned forms are noted here.

व्यजेषत (I.10), न्यवर्तिष्ट (II.9), ऐधिष्ट (IX.1), अजैषीत् (IX.6), समगंसाताम् (XXI.70), आलोकिष्ट (X.42), दावज्वालायते (X.45), और्वति (XXIV.11), प्रचिकटयिषवः

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(XI.8), पर्यणेष्ट (XXII.52), अलंधि (XXIV.5), अनर्ति (VIII.20), कर्णेजपः (VIII.76), पुत्रीयितविश्वविश्वः (VIII.85), समूलकाषं न्यकषत् (XXI.103), अद्युतत् (VIII.20), अकार्ष्ट (VI.52), नखंपचरजःकणा (X.55), व्यरंसिषुः (XXI.48)

21. जृम्मावशोल्लासितबाहुमूलोपलक्ष्यमाणस्तनकुम्मलक्ष्मीम् । I.67
श्लथीभवद्बन्धुरनीविबन्धव्यक्तस्मरोज्जृम्भकरोमराजिम् ॥ XXII.49

तन्महाज्वरहरोरुतक्षकोद्दीप्ररलत्नजलदेशनोपमम् । XXII.49
तर्जितोर्जितरुचिद्युसद्गृहश्रीविलासशिबिकाधिरोहभाक् । XXIV.14 Also I.44, II.40, II.76 etc., etc.

22. माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णै रचना ललितात्मिका ।
अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥ *Sāhityadarpaṇa,* IX 2(ii).3(i)

23. स्वशिल्पानीव विशिखान् यान् यान भूपो व्यपीपरत् ।
तांस्तान् सताडयामास सम्मुखं दुर्जनानिव ॥ XXI.76

स शितासिकरो बल्गन् अर्द्धचन्द्रेण सत्वरम् ।
विहस्तहस्तिराजस्य निन्ये तेन विहस्तताम् ॥ XXI.78

दोलायिताप्याभिमुख्यं जयलक्ष्मीरनायि च ।
प्रहारपटुताभाजा विदग्धेनेव कामिनी ॥ XXI.79

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MEDICINAL IMPORTANCE OF *ĀMRA* (*MANGIFERA INDICA* L.) IN ANCIENT INDIAN TEXTS

Dhananjay Vasudeo Dwivedi[+] and Vartika Jain[*]

Abstract: *Āmra*, botanically known as *Mangifera indica* L.; well known for its delicious and nutritious fruits, is commonly known as Mango. This large, evergreen tree is one of the highly revered and most admired trees of India. It has more than 50 synonyms in Sanskrit language as mentioned in *Ayurveda*. Besides, its cultural and economic value, various ancient Indian texts describe its medicinal importance. It is majorly recommended for treatment of gastrointestinal disorders like diarrhoea, dysentery, vomiting and constipation. Ethnomedicinally also, it has been used for treatment of several diseases by diverse ethnic communities of the country. Many of its medicinal properties have been scientifically demonstrated in various studies and bioactive molecules have been isolated. The present paper is an attempt to describe medicinal properties of *Āmra* in brief as mentioned in various ancient Indian texts.

Keywords: *Śusruta Saṃhitā*, *Nighaṇṭu*, *Sahakārah*, Constipation, *Pitta*, *Agnipurāṇa*.

1. Introduction

Plants play a vital role in daily life of man for various purposes namely, food, fodder, fibre, medicine, timber etc. Some of the plants are specially known for their valuable fruits. *Āmra* (Mango), scientifically known as *Mangifera indica* L. (Family: *Anacardiaceae*) is a well known tree for its delicious fruits used widely in India. Its fruits have been given a unique status among all

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the fruits, and considered as 'King of fruits' and 'Food of the Gods'. It is regarded as a valuable item of diet and a household remedy for many ailments as well. Mango fruit is known as a fleshy drupe in scientific terminology. It is variable in size and shape, with varying mixtures of green, yellow and red colour (Mehta, 2017; Bakhru, 2019,99). In view of its wide popularity, an attempt has been made to look for its qualities as mentioned in ancient Indian texts including *Ayurveda* and presented concisely in this article.

1.1 Synonyms of *Āmra* and significance

There are various synonyms of *Āmra* mentioned in the ancient literature. Some of them are highly significant and reflect various uses and quality of this plant (*Amarkośaḥ*, 2.33; *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Āmrādivarga*-9-11). Synonyms of *Āmra* as mentioned in different *Āyurvedic* texts have been presented in Table 1 which shows that the maximum synonyms of *Āmra* are given in *Rājanighaṇṭu* and *Kaideva Nighaṇṭu* whereas, *Āmraḥ, Cūtaḥ, Rasālaḥ* and *Sahakāraḥ* are common synonyms to all ten Ayurvedic texts.

Table-1: Synonyms of *Āmra* as mentioned in different *Ayurvedic* texts

S.N.	Synonyms	M.N.	B.N.	R.N.	K.N.	Sr.N.	D.N.	S.N.	Sd.N.	A.S.	A.K.
1.	*Amlaphalaḥ*			✓							
2.	*Āmraḥ*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3.	*Atisaurabhaḥ*	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓
4.	*Bhṛṅgabhīṣṭaḥ*			✓							
5.	*Caitravṛkṣaḥ*				✓						
6.	*Cūtaḥ*	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
7.	*Kāmāṅgaḥ*		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓			
8.	*Kāmaśāraḥ*			✓							
9.	*Kāmavallabhaḥ*	✓		✓						✓	
10.	*Kānanādhipaḥ*					✓					
11.	*Kāntaḥ*				✓				✓		
12.	*Kīreṣṭaḥ*			✓			✓	✓			

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13.	*Kokilabandhuḥ*										
14.	*Kokilāvāsaḥ*			✓							
15.	*Kokilotsavaḥ*			✓							
16.	*Madāḍhyaḥ*			✓							
17.	*Mādhavadrumaḥ*			✓							
18.	*Madhūlī*			✓							
19.	*Madhudūtaḥ*		✓								
20.	*Madhvāvāsaḥ*			✓							
21.	*Madirāsakhā*						✓	✓			
22.	*Madodbhavaḥ*						✓	✓			
23.	*Madhupapriyaḥ*					✓					
24.	*Madyasahaḥ*				✓						
25.	*Mākandaḥ*	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	
26	*Manmathaḥ*				✓	✓					
27.	*Manmathālayaḥ*			✓							
28.	*Manorathaḥ*				✓						
29.	*Nṛpapriyaḥ*			✓							
30.	*Parapuṣṭaḥ*				✓		✓	✓			
31.	*Pikabandhuḥ*	✓								✓	
32.	*Pikamahotsavaḥ*				✓						
33.	*Pikarāgaḥ*			✓							
34.	*Pikavallabhaḥ*		✓								
35.	*Piṇḍaphalaḥ*					✓			✓		
36.	*Piṇḍiphalaḥ*				✓						
37.	*Priyāmbuḥ*			✓							
38.	*Puṣpamañjariḥ*					✓					
39.	*Rasālaḥ*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
40.	*Sahakāraḥ*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
41.	*Śauṇḍikapriyaḥ*				✓						

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42.	*Sīdhurasaḥ*			✓							
43.	*Śilīṣṭaḥ,*				✓						
44.	*Śiṣṭaḥ,*				✓						
45.	*Sumadanaḥ*			✓							
46.	*Supathāmodaḥ*				✓						
47.	*Śyāmatailkaḥ*				✓						
48.	*Śyāvatailaḥ*								✓		
49.	*Vanapuṣpotsavaḥ*				✓						
50.	*Vanotsavaḥ*									✓	
51.	*Vasantadūtaḥ*			✓		✓					
52.	*Vasantapādapaḥ*			✓							

M.N.- *Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu*
B.N.-*Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*
R.N. *Rāja Nighaṇṭu*
K.N.-*Kaideva Nighaṇṭu*
Sr.N.- *Sarasvatī Nighaṇṭu*
D.N.- *Dhanvantati Nighaṇṭu*
S.N.- *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu*
Sd.N.- *Saḍrasa Nighaṇṭu*
A.S.- *Āyurvedasaukhyam*
A.K.- *Amara Kośa*

1.2 Significance of Synonyms

Each and every synonym of *Āmra* has its special significance. This has been presented in Table-2.

Table-2: Significance of various synonyms of *Āmra*

Synonyms of *Āmra*	Significance
Amlaphalaḥ	Fruits are sour in taste when unripe
Āmraḥ	It is liked by all
Atisaurabhaḥ	Flowers of mango tree have pleasing fragrance
Bhṛṅgabhīṣṭaḥ	A darling to a large black bee
Caitravṛkṣaḥ, Vasantpādapaḥ, Madhūlī	The tree bears flowers and fruits in spring
Cūtaḥ	Fruits fall down when fully grown

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Kāmāṅgaḥ	It is one of the flowery arrows of Cupid (Kāmadeva)
Kānanādhipaḥ	King of forest
Kāntaḥ	It is lovely and beautiful
Kīreṣṭaḥ	It is favourite to Parrots
Kokilabandhuḥ, Pikabandhuḥ	The tree is associated to Cuckoos
Kokilāvāsaḥ	The tree is dwelling place for Cuckoos
Mādhavadrumaḥ	Fruits are sweet like honey when ripe
Madhuphalaḥ	Fruits are sweet when ripe
Madirāsakhaḥ, Śauṇḍikapriyaḥ	It is used in preparation of wine
Mākandaḥ	It never causes distress
Manmathaḥ, Manmathālayaḥ	Flowers having pleasant intoxicating aroma stimulate sex desire
Nṛpapriyaḥ	It is favourite to King
Piṇḍaphalaḥ, Piṇḍiphalaḥ	Fruits are solid
Rasālaḥ	Ripe fruit is full of juice
Sahakāraḥ	Fruit is sweet smelling
Śiṣṭaḥ	It is virtuous and respectable
Śyāmatailkaḥ, Śyāvatailaḥ	Oil extracted from seeds is blackish/dark brown in colour

2. Distribution

Genus *Mangifera* has 60 species among which *M. indica* is the most important species. It is found to be originated in Assam-Burma-Thailand region and now cultivated pantropically throughout the world. In India, there are over 1000 cultivars of Mango which are especially grown in Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal, Tamilnadu and Central Indian states. Mango tree possesses a long life and in India, it has been cultivated for over 4000 years. India shares nearly 65% of Mango cultivation of the world's cultivation area and 42.6% of its own cultivation area. Other species of *Mangifera* found in India are *M.*

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sylvatica, M. camptosperma, M. khasiana, M. andamanica and *M. nicobarica*. Besides India, the plant is also extensively grown in China, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Philippines, Haiti, Hawaii, West Indies, Madagascar, Australia, Indonesia, Mexico and Brazil (Pandey, 2004; Dinesh et al., 2011; CSIR, 1962; NISCAIR, 2003; Bakhru, 2010).

3. Botanical Details

Āmra is a huge evergreen tree growing to a height of 10-45 m. with widely spread branches and thick, rough, dark grey coloured bark. Leaves are linear-oblong or elliptic-lanceolate in shape and crowded at the end of the branches. Inflorescence is a large panicle having more than 3000 tiny flowers which are reddish white or yellowish green in color. Fruits are large fleshy drupes varying much in size and shape. Fruit skin is green, yellow or red with whitish yellow, yellow or orange colored soft and fibrous edible mesocarp. Solitary, ovoid-oblique seeds encased in a hard endocarp have two distinct membranous envelopes. Cotyledons are spirally twisted and lobbed (Pandey, 2004; CSIR, 1962).

Vṛkṣāyurveda mentions various procedures for sowing seeds of *Āmra* including sowing season, preparation of seeds and pits as well as healthy growth of plant etc. (*Vṛkṣāyurveda*- 48-49, 55-56, 68-69, 87, 227). It also mentions that Mango trees are loaded with sweeter and bigger fruits and nourished well if treated with water mixed with ripe fruits of *Aṅkola* (*Alangium salvifolium* Wang.), ghee, honey and marrow of Boar (*Vṛkṣāyurveda*-123). It is mentioned in *Śusruta Saṃhitā* that in the spring season when the directions are cleared, flowering of *Āmra* tree could be observed in the forests (*Śusruta Saṃhitā*-Su/6/27). *Kāśyapīyakṛiṣisūkti* mentions that plucking of Mango in the half-ripe stage yields tastier sap (*Kāśyapīyakṛiṣisūkti*-2/60).

Viśvavallabha describes the method of converting unproductive Mango tree into productive. For this purpose, *Āmra* tree should be scratched at the root and a mixture of *Jaṃbāla*, milk, *Rodhra* (*Symplocos racemosa* Roxb.) along with honey, clarified butter and *Tila* (*Sesamum indicum* DC.) should be applied. Then they should be sprinkled with water mixed with honey and milk for the period of the ten days which makes unproductive trees producing fruits like nectar (*Viśvavallabha*-7/26). Seed of *Āmra* soaked in blood of Rabbit and Tortoise for

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twenty-one days and sprinkled with a mixture of milk and water after sowing, indeed, produces Mango fruits in all seasons (*Viśvavallabha*-9/9). Another botanical wonder has also been described in *Viśvavallabha* where seed of *Āmra* or *Madhūka* (*Madhuca longifolia* var. *latifolia* A.Chev.) kept for seven days in water in which fish and flesh are cooked and then dried it in hot Sun and thus sown produces *Bṛhatī* (*Viśvavallabha*-9/2).

4. *Āmra* and its Medicinal Properties

Medicinal plants continue to be an important healing aid for alleviating the diseases of humankind. India has a rich legacy of conventional medicine which largely focuses on medicinal plants. *Āmra* is well known for its therapeutic properties which have been mentioned in several Sanskrit as well as *Āyurvedic* texts. Mango tree has also been part of Indian folk medicine. Various parts of the tree has been used to treat ailments like abdominal pain, acidity, asthma, burn, conjunctivitis, constipation, cough, diarrhea, diabetes, dysentery, dysmenorrhoea, headache, haemorrhoids, heat stroke, impotence, indigestion, jaundice, leucorrhoea, malaria, mouth ulcer, nasal bleeding, stomach-ache, scabies, spermatorrhoea, snake and spider bite etc. by different ethnic tribes spread among different states of India (Jain and Jain, 2016).

Āmra is useful as antiscorbutic, anthelmintic, aphrodisiac, appetizer, stomachic, astringent, cardiac stimulant, demulcent, diuretic, fattening, invigorative, tonic, refrigerant, and laxative in different forms and modes of usage with regard to fruits and other parts of the plant. It has been used for treatment of burning sensation, sunstroke, bleeding, piles, haemorrhage, epistaxis, debility and irritability of stomach, uterine complaints, bleeding from lungs, menorrhagia, opthalmia, eruption, scabies and cutaneous affections (Pandey, 2004).

Various parts of the tree have medicinal values. The bark is useful as an astringent and has a marked action on mucous membranes. It is also used in bowel complaints, diarrhoea, dysentery etc. The powder of tender leaves is used in diarrhoea and diabetes. The smoke of burning leaves is inhaled for relieving hiccup, catarrhal and throat affections. The ash from leaves is used as dusting powder over burns, scalds and other similar complaints. Powder of leaves is

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locally applied to cuts, ulcers and bruises for styptic purpose. Leaves are considered useful for toning up the gums by masticating them. An infusion of leaves and bark is used as an astringent; and it is applied as a mouthwash for toothache, sore gums and sore throat and similar affections. The juice of leaves is internally given for checking the nausea and vomiting as the leaves are anti-emetic. The resinous gum exuded and obtained from tree trunk is used medicinally; the gum is applied as dressing material for scabies and other parasitic skin complaints. The flowers have medicinal utility and used in different ailments. Dried flowers are astringent and recommended in diseases caused by *Kapha* and *Pitta* (Pandey, 2004).

Āyurvedic texts such as *Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu*, *Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Madanpāla Nighaṇṭu*, *Āyurveda Saukhyam*, *Soḍhala Nighaṇṭuḥ*, *Caraka Saṃhitā*, *Śusruta Saṃhitā*, *Aṣṭānga Hṛdayam*, *Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*, *Vṛndamādhava*, *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī*, and *Purāṇas* like *Agnipurāṇa* and *Garuḍapurāṇa* have mentioned medicinal properties of *Āmra*. Correct botanical identity of other plants mentioned in the text by Sanskrit names has been ascertained with literature and given in the text where they are mentioned for the first time (Website 1; CSIR, 1962). However, botanical names of some plants could not be ascertained in the context, hence not given. Medicinal properties of *Āmra* are described in brief in the following section:

4.1 Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu

Bhāvaprakāśa Nighaṇṭu (BN) has described the properties of *Āmra* in detail. It is mentioned that flowers of *Āmra* are cold in potency and improve taste. They increase *Vāta*, mitigates *Kapha* and *Pitta*, cause constipation and cures diarrhoea, diabetes and blood disorders (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.2). Very young fruit of *Āmra* is sour in taste, astringent and increases *Vāta* and *Pitta* whereas the fruit which is in its youth is very sour, creates dryness and aggravates all three *doṣas* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.3). Unripe fruit with removed skin, cut into pieces and dried well in sun is sour, sweet, astringent and purgative and mitigates *Kapha* and *Vāta* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.4). Ripe fruit is sweet, aphrodisiac, cold in potency and unctuous. It is hard in digestion, gives strength and happiness, and mitigates

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Vāta and good for heart and colour/complexion. It does not aggravate *Pitta* and greatly increases digestive fire, *Kapha* and semen (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.5).

Fruit which has become ripe on the tree itself is hard in digestion, has sweet and sour taste and mitigates *Vāta*, and causes slight aggravation of *Pitta*. Artificially ripen Mango fruit is less sour and more sweet in taste and also mitigates *Pitta* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.6-7). Sucked Mango juice is laxative, cold in potency, easily digestible, bestows satisfaction/contentment, highly nutritious, stoutes the body, and best to increase strength and vigour. It mitigates *Vāta* and *Pitta* but not considered good for heart and aggravates *Kapha* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.7-9). Pieces of dried Mango fruit are sweet, stoutening, strengthening, cold in potency, best stimulator of taste/appetite, hard in digestion and mitigates *Vāta* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.10). Fruit boiled in milk is sweet, cold in potency, aphrodisiac, hard in digestion, nutritious, strengthening, bestows colour/complexion and mitigates *Vāta* and *Pitta* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.11). Weakness of digestive fire, irregular (intermittent) fever, blood diseases, enlargement of abdomen due to intestinal obstruction or eye diseases occur due to over-eating of Mango fruits. Hence, it should not be used in excess. Occurrence of these diseases is only from the use of fruits which are sour but not in those which are sweet, since sweet ones are ideally good for eyes (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.12-13). Drinking water boiled with *Śuṇṭhī*, or powder of *Jīraka* (*Carum carvi* L.) and *Sauvarcala* salt, are the treatment for effects of overeating of *Āmra* fruits (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.14). Juice of *Āmra* fruit cooked, spread on a cloth and dried in sun is known as *Āmrāvarta*. This quenches thirst, cures vomiting, mitigates *Vāta* and *Pitta*, easily digestible and laxative since it is cooked by sun rays (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.15-16). Mango seeds are slightly sour, sweet, and astringent in nature. They cure vomiting and diarrhoea and mitigates burning sensation in the region of the heart (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.17). Young leaves of *Āmra* helps taste and mitigates *kapha* and *pitta* (BN, *Āmrādiphalavarga*.18).

4.2 Rājanighaṇṭu

The *rasa* of *Āmra* is astringent, sour, and fragrant. It cures throat diseases and improves the appetite, but aggravates *Pitta*, *Vāta* and *Rakta-doṣa*. The salt contained in it, leads to improvement of the taste (*Rājanighaṇṭu*, *Āmrādivarga*-

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12). The peel of the Mango fruit and root is astringent. Both are appetizer, constipative and cooling. The flower is appetizer and improves the digestion (*Rājanighaṇṭu, Āmrādivarga*-23).

4.3 Madanapāla-Nighaṇṭu

Āmra is *grāhi* (solidifies the liquid stools), *pramehahara* (takes away with obstinate urinary disorders), *raktadoṣahara* (removes disorder of blood), *kapha-pittahara* (confiscate disorders of *Kapha* and *Pitta*) and *vraṇāropaṇa* (wound-depressing) in nature. Unripe fruit is *ati-amlarasa* (highly sour in taste), *rūkṣa* (dry), *tridoṣahara* (removes all three doṣas) in nature. Ripe fruit is *madhura* (sweet), *vṛṣya* (brings virility), *snigdha* (sticky or viscous), *hṛdya* (something that is good for heart), *balya* (tonic, helping in promoting body weight and strength), *guru* (heavy), *vātahara* (removes *vāta doṣa*), *rucya* (tasteful), *varṇya* (improves complexion of the body), *śīta* (cold infusion) and *apittala* (not increasing *Pitta*). Its juice is *Sāra* (purgative or laxative), *snigdha* (soothing), *rucikāraka* (pleasing), *balya* and *varṇya*. *Āmra* mostly possesses *vātahara, pittakaphahara* (removes *pitta* and *kapha doṣas*), *kaṣāya* (astringent), *madhurarasa* (sweet sap), *vṛṣya* and *gurusnigdha guṇa*. Fully ripe *Āmra* is *āyuṣya* (something beneficial for life span), *māmsavardhana* (increases muscle tissue), *śukrala* (produces semen), and *balya*. Dried mango (*ŚuṣkĀmra*) is *kaṣāya-amla rasa*, *bhedana* (purgative) and *kapha-vātahara* in nature (*Madanapāla Nighaṇṭu-Phalādi-varga*/7-10).

4.4 Āyurveda Saukhyam (AS)

Āmra is cardiac tonic and promotes complexion, appetite, semen and strength. It does not aggravate *Pitta* and alleviates *Vāyu*. The ripe *Āmra* is laxative and heavy. It is astringent in *Auuṛasa* (subsidiary taste). It increases digestive power, *Kapha* and semen (AS-19/6-7). *Āmra* which has become ripe on the tree itself is heavy and excellent alleviator of *Vāyu*. It is sweet, sour and slightly laxative and aggravates *Pitta*. *Āmra* which is ripened by artificial means alleviates *Pitta* (AS-19/7-8). Dry mango is astringent, sour and purgative. It aggravates *Kapha* and *Vāyu*. If ripe *Āmra* is taken by sucking, then it is appetizer, promoter of strength and energy and digests early. It is light and cooling in nature and alleviates *Vāyu* and *Pitta*. It is laxative (AS-19/9). The juice extracted out of it is a promoter of

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strength, heavy in nature, alleviator of *Vāyu*, laxative, *ahṛdya* (which is not cardiac tonic), exceedingly *tarpaṇa* (refreshing), nourishing and aggravator of *Kapha* (AS-19/10).

Along with sugar, the Mango juice becomes very heavy. It is an appetizer, sweet, nourishing, strength promoting, cooling and alleviator of *Vāyu* but gets digested very late (AS-19/11). Along with milk, Mango juice alleviates *vāyu* and *pitta*. It is appetizer, aphrodisiac, nourishing, strength and complexion promoter, delicious, heavy and cooling in nature (AS-19/12). Mango used in large quantities causes *mandānala* (suppression of the power of digestion), *viṣama jvara* (irregular fever), *raktāmaya* (diseases of blood), *baddhagudodara* (obstinate type of abdominal disease caused by obstruction in the rectum) and eye diseases. Therefore, one should not consume mango in excess. This description relates to sour variety of Mango and not to sweet variety of Mango because the latter is exceedingly useful for eyes and in similar other conditions (AS-19/13-14). If Mango is to be used in excess, then milk should be consumed after it as *anupāna*. It can also be taken with *jīraka* or sauvarcala type of salt (AS-19/15). If the juice of ripe Mango is spread over a thick piece of cloth and made to dry in Sun by repeatedly adding additional quantity of juice, then this is called *Āmrāvarta* (AS-19/16). It is laxative, appetizer and alleviates *tṛṣā* (morbid thirst), *chardi* (vomiting), *vāyu* and *pitta*. If it is dried in Sun's rays, then it becomes light (AS-19/17). The seed of Mango cures *chardi* (vomiting), *atisāra* (diarrhoea) and *hṛdya dāha* (burning sensation in the chest). It is astringent and slightly sour and sweet (AS-19/18).

4.5 Soḍhala Nighaṇṭu

Āmra is *grāhī* and *vareṇya*, mitigates *kapha* and cures *vāta, prameha*. Sour fruit increases *kapha* and *pitta*. Young Mango fruit is *kaṣāya, rukṣa, kaṭu* and *amla* and increases *pitta, asra* and *vāta*. Ripe Mango fruit is sweet and sour. It is *guru, snigdha, hṛdya*, mitigates *vāta* and does not increase *pitta*. It promotes muscular tissues, semen and strength. Juice of fully ripe fruit is *dīpana, Śukrasodhana* and *rakta śodhana* and mitigates *vāta* and *pitta*. It is cardiac, unctuous, odorous and taste stimulator. Pulp of ripe fruit cures *chardi* and *atisāra* (*Soḍhala Nighaṇṭuḥ*-5/457-460).

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4.6 Caraka Saṃhitā (CS)

The gruel prepared with seeds of *Āmra, Jambū* (*Syzygium cumini* Skeels), sour *Kapittha* (*Limonia acidissima* Groff) and *Bilva* is *Sāṅgrāhikī* (CS-Su/2/28). *Āmra* along with other plants is mentioned as cordial (CS-Su/4/10), faecal astringent (CS-Su/4/28), anti-diuretic (CS- Su/4/33) and its tender leaves as anti-emetic (CS-Su/4/28).

The young fruits of *Āmra* cause internal haemorrhage, the mature one aggravate *Pitta* while ripe ones alleviate *Vāyu* and promote muscles, semen and strength (CS- Su/27/139). *Leha* (lickable paste) of *Āmra* and *Āmalaka* (*Phyllanthus emblica* L.) is bulk-promoting, tonic, relishing and saturating owing to unctuousness, sweetness and heaviness. Properties and actions of *lehas* should be determined on the basis of combination, processing and quantity of ingredients (CS- Su/27/282-283). For checking diarrhoea, the seed pulp of *Jambū* and *Āmra, Bilva, Kapittha* and *Śuṇṭhī* should be taken with gruel scum. This formulation may also be made into *khaṇḍa* (a dietary preparation) mixing with legumes, cereals, fat, sours which are excellent astringents (CS-*Ci*/8/127-128). *Kaṭphala* (*Myrica nagi* Thunb.), *Śuṇṭhī, Pāṭhā*, seeds of *Jambū* and fruits of *Āmra* and *Durālabhā* (*Tragia involucrata* L.) taken with honey and rice-water can alleviate *Pittātisāra* (CS-*Ci*/19/55-56). *Lajjālu* (*Mimosa pudica* L.), *Dhātakī* (*Woodfordia fruticosa* Kurtz.), *Bilva* (fruit pulp) and bark of *Jambū* and *Āmra*-this formulation should be made into *khaṇḍas* by souring with *Cāṅerī, Kola* and buttermilk and adding some uncting substance and salt. These are efficacious in *Kaphaja* originated diarrhoea (CS-*Ci*/19/110). In *Pittaja* type of vomiting, one may take decoction of tender leaves of *Jambū* and *Āmra* mixed with honey (CS-*Ci*/20/30). *Rāgas* may be prepared separately of the pulp of *Āmra, Āmalaka* adding *Dhānyaka, Saucarcala, Jīraka, Kāravī* and *Marica* along with jaggery and *Madhuśukta* (a type of vinegar) so that it becomes clearly sour and sweet. This makes the food palatable and digests it well (CS-*Ci*/24/182-183). *Kālīyaka, Tagara* (*Tabernaemontana divaricata* R.Br. ex Roem. & Schult.), seeds of *Āmra, Nāgakeśara* (*Mesua ferrea* L.), iron and *Triphalā* mixed with cow-dung juice make an excellent paste for reviving normal colour in skin (CS-Ci/25/116). The powder of *Kāsīsa, Triphalā, Saurāṣṭrī, Lajjālu, Āmra* seeds and *Dhātakī* mixed with honey removes sliminess and makes the genital track clean (CS-*Ci*/30/121-122). *Ghee* should be cooked

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with double quantity of milk and the paste of unripe fruits of *Udumbara* (*Ficus racemosa* L.), bark of *Jambū*, *Āmra* and *Udumbra*, conch, *Sarjarasa* (*Vateria indica* L.), lac and mud. This should be taken in all types of diarrhoea according to strength (CS-*Si*/8/36-37).

4.7 Suśruta Saṃhitā (SS)

According to *Śusruta Saṃhitā*, *Āmra* falls under *Nyagrodhādi* group with 23 other plants (SS-Su/38/48-49). It is mentioned that the unripe Mango increases *Pitta* and *Vāta* and the unripe one in which the fibrous mesh has formed increases *Pitta*. Fully ripe Mango is pleasant, sweet, nutritive, spermatogenic, improves complexion and taste, increases blood, muscles and strength. It is astringent in secondary taste, heavy, pacifies *Vāta*, and not incompatible with *Pitta* (SS-*Su*/46/152-154). Oil derived from *Āmra* known as *Sahakāra* oil is slightly bitter, drying, sweet, astringent, and excessively fragrant, eliminates *Vāta* and *Kapha*, and does not excessively increase *Pitta* like juice of *Āmra* (SS-*Su*/45/127).

Medicinal uses

Mango fruit stone is recommended to be used to treat sinus along with *Bibhītaka*, sprouts of Banyan tree, seeds of *Śaṅkhinī* and *Vārāhikanda* mixed with oil (SS-*Ci*/17/35-36). A decoction made from leaves of *Jambu*, *Āmra*, *Sumana*, *Nimba*, *Śveta* and *Kamboji*, barks of *Śallakī* (*Boswellia serrata* Roxb.), *Badarī* (*Ziziphus xylopyrus* Willd.), *Bilva* (*Aegle marmelos* Correa), *Palāśa* (*Butea monosperma* Taub.) and *Tiniśa*, and also barks of latex trees along with *Triphala* is used to wash lesions of venereal diseases. Further, oil prepared from above decoction along with *Gojī*, *Viḍaṅga* (*Embelia ribes* Burm.f.), *Madhuka* and aromatic drugs is an excellent remedy for healing all types of lesions of venereal diseases (SS-*Ci*/19/42-45). Oil cooked with *Dhānyāmla* and *Mañjiṣṭhā* (*Rubia tinctorum* L.), *Tila*, *Yaṣṭimadhu* (*Glycyrrhiza glabra* L.), *Sārivā*, *Utpala*, *Padmaka*, *Rodhra* and *Kadamba* (*Neolamarckia cadamba* Bosser) with tender leaves of *Balā*, *Jambū* and *Āmra* is referred to treat the disease *Utpāta* which is brownish black oedema in the ear pinna (SS-*Ci*/25/16-17).

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Pittavidagdha dṛṣṭi (Hamarlopia- Day blindness) and *Kaphavidagdha dṛṣṭi* (Nyctalopia- Night blindness) is recommended to be treated by a collyrium prepared from the flowers of *Kubjaka, Aśoka* (*Saraca asoca* Willd.), *Śāla* (*Shorea robusta* Gaertn.), *Āmra, Priyaṅgu* (*Aglaia odoratissima* Blume), *Nalina* (*Nelumbo nucifera* Gaertn.) and *Utpala* together with *Hareṇu, Pippalī* (*Piper longum* L.), *Harītakī* (*Terminalia chebula* Retz.) and *Āmalakī* powdered and mixed with honey and *ghṛta* should be stored in a tube of a hollow bamboo (SS-*Uttar*/17/8-10). *Hareṇukā* (*Amomum subulatum* Roxb.) pasted with the juice expressed from flowers of *Āmra* and *Jambu* and mixed with honey and *Ghṛta* may alternatively be used as collyrium in the above two conditions (SS-*Uttar*/17/10-11).

Kukūṇaka is an eye disease which originates from the vitiation of breast milk, *Kapha, Vāta, Pitta* and *Rakta* and affects the eyelids of the infants only. It is correlated to neonatal conjunctivitis in allopathic diagnosis. Washing and irrigation of eyes should be done with the decoction of leaves of *Jambu, Āmra, Āmalakī* and *Aśmantaka* (SS-*Uttar*/19/13). A collyrium prepared from *Mūrvā, Madhuyaṣṭi* and *Āmra* is also useful in treating this disease (SS-*Uttar*/19/14).

The oil processed with tender leaves of *Śaivāla, Mahāvṛkṣa, Jambu* and *Āmra* and with *Kulīra*, honey and *Maṇḍūkaparṇi* (*Centella asiatica* Urb.) is also recommended for treating *Karṇāsrāva* which is an ear discharge possibly occurring due to suppurative otitis media (SS-*Uttar*/21/45). The expressed juices of the bark of *Āmra, Kapittha, Madhuyaṣṭi, Dhava* and *Śāla* or the oil cooked with these drugs are advocated for filling the ear-cavity (SS-*Uttar*/21/47).

It is recommended that a physician after proper diagnosis should sprinkle the child afflicted by *Śakunī graha* with the decoction of *Vetasa, Āmra* and *Kapittha* (SS-*Uttar*/30/3).

Mango is also a part of treatment of *Pitta Pakvātisāra* (*Pittaja* Diarrhoea-Chronic Stage). A recipe prepared from the soft matter inside seeds of *Āmra* fruits, *Lodhra*, soft matter inside *Bilva* and *Priyaṅgu* is considered beneficial for the patient with chronic diarrhoea on account of weak *grahṇī* (SS-*Uttar*/40/68,70). Barks of *Badarī, Arjuna* (*Terminalia arjuna* Wt. & Arn.), *Jambu, Āmra, Śallakī* and *Vetasa* with sugar and honey is also recommended for treatment of diarrhoea (SS-*Uttar*/40/96). Bark of Mango tree is also recommened for treatment of *Rakta*

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Pitta (heamorrhagic disorders) along with barks of *Jambu* and *Arjuna* (SS-*Uttar*/45/23). *Vātaja madātyaya* can also be controlled by consuming drinks prepared from *Āmrātaka, Āmra* fruit, *Dāḍima* and *Mātuliṅga* (SS-*Uttar*/47/25).

A paste for local application in leucoderma is also prepared by using bark of Mango tree. First, a decoction is prepared from the barks of *Āmra* and *Haritakī* trees in which a wick is impregnated along with the latex of Banyan tree and burnt in the flame of a copper lamp. The collected soot is well soaked in the decoction of *Harītakī* and pasted repeatedly over *Kilāsa* (leucoderma), which has been dabbed with mustard oil (SS-*Ci*/9/23-24).

4.8 Aṣṭāṅga Hṛdayam (AH)

In *Astānga Hrdayam, Āmra* has been grouped under *Amla* group of substances that is the sour group (AH-*Su*/10/25-26) and kept under *Nyagrodhādi gaṇa* along with 20 other plants. This *Nyagrodhādi gaṇa* is considered good for ulcers, bleeding diseases, thirst, burning sensation, vaginal diseases, and unites fractures and also cures fat accumulation (AH-*Su*/15/41-42). *AH* mentions that *Bāla Āmra* (tender, unripe Mango) is sweet and sour in taste, increases *Vāta*, increases *Kapha* and *Pitta* when its stone is formed, not easily digestible, mitigates *Vāta*, increases *Kapha* and semen when ripe (AH-*Su*/6/128-129).

Mango has also been recommended for treatment of many diseases in AH. Decoction of tender leaves of *Jambū* and *Āmra, Uśira*, sprouts and tips of aerial roots of *Vaṭa* mixed with honey and consumed as warm or cold is mentioned to be useful for thirst, vomiting, fever, diarrhoea and fainting (AH-*Ci*/6/14-15). Powder of *Kāsīsa, Triphalā, Kāṅkṣī*, seeds of *Āmra* and *Jambū* and *Dhātakī* mixed with honey is locally applied to slimy vagina (AH-*Uttar*/34/55-56).

In case of bleeding from nose, nasal drops prepared from juice of flowers of *Dāḍima* and stone of fruit of *Āmra* (the kernel inside the stone) is considered beneficial (AH-*Ci*/2/49). *Peyā, Vilepī* and *Khala* (all liquid foods) prepared with kernel of *Dadhittha, Bilva, Āmra* and *Jambū* is useful in treating diarrhoea arising from *Pitta* (AH-*Ci*/9/66). In treatment of *madātyaya* (Alcoholism), *Rāga* and

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Sāḍva (sour and sweet syrups) processed with tender fruits of *Āmra* and *Āmrātaka* is mentioned as helpful (AH-Ci/7/12, 14).

Application of paste of *Kālīyaka, Latā*, seeds of *Āmra, Hema (Padmaka), Kālā* (*Mañjiṣṭhā*), *Rasottama* (mercury) added with juice of cow-dung is considered best to bring normal colour of the skin (AH-*Uttar*/61-62). Paste of tender leaves of *Jambū* and *Āmra*, two *Haridrā* along with fresh *guḍa*, macerated with curd water is mentioned in AH to give complexion to the face and imparts natural colour to the discoloured area of the skin (AH-*Uttar*/32/22).

Mango is also considered useful for treatment of *Utpāta*. Medicated oil prepared from decoction of tender leaves of *Jambū* and *Āmra*, *Balā*, *Yaṣṭi*, *Rodhra*, *Tila* and *Utpala*, paste of *Mañjiṣṭhā, Kadamba* and *Sārivā*, added with *Dhānyāmla* (fermented rice wash) is mentioned for *Abhyañjana* (anointing massage) for treatment of *Utpāta* (AH-*Uttar*/18/43-44).

Interestingly, Mango is also part of the therapy to dispel evil spirits. Daily consumption of medicated ghee prepared with paste of *Ananta*, stone (seed) of *Āmra, Tagara, Marica*, drugs of *Madhura gaṇa, Śṛgālavinnā* and *Mustā*, decoction of *Daśmūla* and milk is considered best to dispel evil spirits (AH-*Uttar*/3/49-50).

4.9 Śārṅgadhara-Saṃhitā

Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā also mentions medicinal uses of Mango, for example, cold infusion of *Āmra, Jambū* and *Arjuna* along with honey is recommended for treatment of intrinsic haemorrhage (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-2/4/2). Heating of leaves and roots separately of *Bījapūra, Āmra* and *Jambū* in a closed container and intake of the juice taken with honey is mentioned to alleviate severe vomiting (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-2/1/32-33). Equal powders of Mango seed and *Harītakī* are pounded together with milk and applied to the scalp is useful for curing dandruff (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-3/11/20). Local application of paste made from Mango seed, honey and camphor to vagina is considered good to make it contracted and firm (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-3/11/111). Hot infusion of tender leaves of *Āmra* and *Jambū*, leaf-buds and hanging roots of *Vaṭa* and *Uśīra*

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(*Pseudoraphis spinescens* (R.Br.) Vickery) mixed with honey is useful to allay fever (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-2/3/6). *Āmrādi taila* is prepared from tender leaves of *Āmra, Jambū, Madhūka* and *Vaṭa* to cure *Pūtikarṇa* – pus in the ear (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-3/11/150). *Āmrādi yavāgu* prepared from decoction of stem barks of *Āmra, Āmrātaka, Jambū* and broken rice is mentioned to cure *Grahaṇī* that is irritable bowel syndrome (*Śārṅgadhara Saṃhitā*-2/2/153).

4.10 Vṛndamādhava

Vṛndamādhava mentions that decoction of *Bilva* and seed-kernel of *Āmra* mixed with honey and sugar is helpful to check vomiting and diarrhoea (*Vṛndamādhava*-3/30). Bark of *Śallakī, Badarī, Jambū, Priyāla* (*Buchanania cochinchinensis* M.R. Almeida), *Āmra* and *Arjuna* mixed with honey and taken with milk is mentioned to check haemorrhage (*Vṛndamādhava*-3/41). Linctus made of Mango seed-kernel, parched paddy and rocksalt with honey is also recommended to check vomiting (*Vṛndamādhava* -66/11). Decoction of *Āmra* and *Jambū* added with honey is useful in alleviating all types of vomiting and thirst (*Vṛndamādhava* -16/10). Juice of ripe Mango added with honey is useful to treat spleen enlargement (*Vṛndamādhava* -37/50).

4.11 Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī (BR)

Pañcapallava is considered to be significant group of plants' leaves which is extensively used for preparing perfumes. According to *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī* (2006), *Āmra* leaf is one of them among the leaves of other plants such as *Jambū, Kapittha, Bījapūraka* and *Bilva* (BR-4/29).

A number of medicinal preparations have been described in *Bhaiṣajya Ratnāvalī* which includes *Āmra* as one of its ingredients. Some of the significant preparations along with their medicinal values have been described as follows:

Raktātisāra is treated with a highly effective preparation named as *Jambvāmrādipallavsvarasa* in which juice extracted from leaves of *Jambū, Āmra, Āmalakī*, mixed with goat milk is taken with honey (BR-7/84-85). *Āmravalkalakalkalepa* is a remedy for curing atrocious diarrhoea in which

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tenacious paste of bark of *Āmra* fruit or soft bark of the plant along with *Kānji* is applied on naval region (BR-7/118-119). Excessive vomitting and diarrhoea of a child can be cured by applying tenacious paste of roots of *Peṭī* (*Kuberākṣī*) and *Pāṭhā* along with barks of *Jambū* and *Āmra* to chest, naval region and sole (BR-71/40).

BR mentions that vomiting and thirst can be cured by *Āmrādi Kaṣāya* which is prepared either by the decoction of leaves of *Āmra* or *Jambū* (BR-20/10). *Āmrādikvātha* is another very popular preparation of *Āyurveda* for treatment of morbid thirst. Leaves of *Āmra* and *Jambū* in equal proportions are used along with rasa *Sindūra* and administered with honey or in gargles (BR-20/30).

Sahakāravaṭī is also an important preparation involving bark of Mango tree. Decoctions of Mango bark along with barks of *Nimba* (*Azadirachta indica* A.Juss.), *Khadira* (*Areca catechu* L.) and *Aśan* is prepared and then cooked together. After this many other herbs are added to it for trituration and then *Sahakāra Vaṭī* pills are prepared. These pills are recommended to cure throat, lips, tongue, teeth and palate disorders and also useful in promoting tastiness, decreasing bad breath and strengthening teeth (BR-61/109-114).

Pregnant lady could be cured from spur by treatment with the decoction of barks of Mango and *Jambū* trees mixed with fine powder of poppy of paddy (BR-68/48). Mouth inflammation of children could be cured by coating with a tenacious paste formed by equal parts of *Āmrasāra*, *lauha bhasma*, *svarṇa gairika* powder, *rasāñjana* powder along with honey (BR-71/86).

4.12 Agni Purāṇa

Agnipurāṇa mentions medicinal use of Mango tree like for treatment of haemorrhage, decoction of *Viḍaṅga*, *Alkali*, urine of cow, *Harītakī*, *Śallakī*, *Vadarī*, *Jambū*, *Priyāla* and bark of *Āmra* and *Arjuna* is recommended to be used with honey and milk (*Agnipurāṇa*-285/58-59). A decoction of *Bilva*, *Āmra*, *Dhātakī*, *Pāṭhā*, *Śunṭhī* and *Mocarasa* is mentioned to cure the most obstinate type of dysentery if taken with butter milk mixed with molasses (*Agnipurāṇa*-285/59-

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60). Oblation with leaves of *Āmra* is mentioned to help in doing away with fever (*Agnipurāṇa*-81/51).

4.13 Garuḍa Mahāpurāṇa

Garuḍapurāṇa also mentions usefulness of Mango in treatment of vomiting. Decoction of *Āmra* taken with *mākṣika* is helpful in arresting vomiting (*Garuḍapurāṇa*-170/33). Juice of *Āmra, Sallakī, Badarī, Jambu, Priyāla, Arjuna* and *Dhava* taken with honey and alkali is mentioned to excise a styptic virtue (*Garuḍapurāṇa*-170/27). According to *Garuḍapurāṇa*, immature Mango generates *Kapha* and *Pitta*, raw Mango aggravates the *Pitta*, whereas ripe Mango subdues the deranged *Vāyu*, and is tonic, cosmetic and spermatopoietic (*Garuḍapurāṇa*-169/25-26).

4.14 Medicinal Properties In Other Texts

Vangasena mentions usefulness of tender leaves of *Āmra* and *Kapittha* along with rice water in diarrhoea (*Vangasena/Atiśāra*/61). Skin psoriasis is also mentioned to be cured with local application of Mango pulp mixed with rocksalt which have been kept in a copper vessel (*Vangsena/Kuṣṭha*-113). In stomatitis of children, seed kernel of Mango, *lauhabhasma*, red Ochre and *rasāñjana* mixed with honey is recommended (*Vangsena/Bālaroga*/108). Diarrhoea with blood and mucus could be treated with juice of *Āmra* bark extracted by *Puṭapāka* (closed heating) along with oil (*Vaidyamanorama*-6/7). *Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā* recommends use of roasted tender fruits of *Āmra* with water and mixed with *Jīraka*, salt and *Marica* for treatment of sun-stroke (*Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā*-4/38). Indigestion caused by eating fish and meat could be cured by taking unripe fruit and seed of Mango respectively. Pounded bark of *Āmra* with milk and sugar is considered efficacious in gonorrhoea if taken for a fortnight (*Siddhabheṣajamaṇimālā*-4/810).

All parts of the plant are smooth and non-hairy. Mango is used as food in all stages of its development. Green or unripe Mango contains a large portion of starch which gradually changes into glucose, sucrose and maltose as the fruit begins to ripe. Unripe Mango is sour in taste because of the presence of oxalic, citric, malic and succinic acids. Mango is a rich source of flavones, carotenes,

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glucosides, sterol, aromatic acids, essential oil, fatty acids, and phenolics. It is a valuable source of Vitamin C more than half ripe or fully ripe Mangoes, Vitamin B_1 and B_2 and contains sufficient quantity of niacin. These vitamins differ in concentration in various varieties during the stages of maturity and environmental conditions (Dinesh et al., 2011; NISCAIR, 2003).

Bakhru (2010) has described various uses of Mango tree. Some of them are as follows: Drink prepared from the unripe mango by cooking in hot ashes and mixing the pulp with sugar and water, is an effective remedy for the heat exhaustion and heat stroke. Eating raw mango with salt quenches thirst and prevents excessive loss of sodium chloride and iron during summers due to excessive sweating. Unripe green mangoes are beneficial for the treatment of gastro-intestinal and bilious disorders. The acids contained in the green mango increase the secretion of bile and act as intestinal antiseptic. Eating one or two small tender mangoes in which the seed is not fully formed with salt and honey is very effective medicine for diarrhoea and dysentery during summers, piles, morning sickness, indigestion and constipation.

The green Mango, rich in vitamin C, is valuable in blood disorders by increasing the elasticity of blood vessels and formation of new blood cells. It aids in absorption of food-iron and prevents bleeding tendencies. It increases body resistance against tuberculosis, anemia, cholera and dysentery. Ripe mangoes are highly beneficial in the treatment of night blindness and also prevent development of refractive errors, dryness of eyes, softening of cornea, itching and burning of eyes. Liberal use of Mangoes during the season contributes towards formation of healthy epithelium, thereby preventing frequent attacks of common infections such as colds rhinitis and sinusitis. The ripe and sweet mango milk is an ideal treatment for weight loss. The tender leaves of the Mango tree are considered useful in controlling early diabetes. Mango seeds dried in the shade and powdered are considered good for treatment of diarrhoea (Bakhru, 2010).

Pharmacological properties of *Āmra*

Mango tree has been a part of traditional medicinal system. Many of its pharmacological activities such as antidiabetic, anti-oxidant, anti-viral, cardiotonic, anti-inflammatory, antispasmodic, antidiarrhoeal, antibacterial,

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antifungal, anthelmintic, antiparasitic, antitumor, anti-HIV, antibone resorption, antipyretic, antiallergic, gastroprotective, immunomodulation, hypotensive, hypolipidemic, hepatoprotective have been demonstrated in various *in vitro/in vivo* scientific studies carried out world over (NISCAIR, 2003; Shah et al., 2010). Some of these properties are direct and indirect evidences for many of the ailments for which Mango is recommended in traditional medicine namely, diarrhoea, dysentery, fever, venereal diseases, eye and ear diseases etc.

Moreover, various bioactive phytochemical compounds have also been isolated from different parts of Mango such as mangiferin, isomangiferin, homomangiferin, catechin, astragalin, delphinidin, cyaniding, gallocatechin, protocatechuic acid, gallotannin, phloroglucinol, ellagic acid, gallic acid, chinomin, epicatechin, quercetin, butin, taraxone, taraxerol, friedelin, lupeol, β-sitosterol, glucogallin, manghopanal, mangiferonic acid, indicoside A & B, mangocoumarin, mangsterol, manglupenone, mangiferolic acid (NISCAIR, 2003; Shah et al., 2010).

Conclusion

The present paper is an attempt to describe medicinal properties of Mango tree as mentioned in various Indian ancient texts in brief. Mango tree is considered as an auspicious tree in India. Traditional medicinal system '*Ayurveda*' and other ancient texts describe various medicinal uses of *Āmra*. Folk healers of indigenous communities of the country also describe use of various parts of *Āmra* for treatment of many diseases. Several medicinal preparations made up from *Āmra* are of great use. Synonyms of *Āmra* as described in *Nighaṇṭu* texts also indicate towards properties of this useful tree. In view of all these, Mango is rightly termed as 'King of the Fruits'.

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GAṆEŚA DAIVAJÑA'S *UPAPATTI* ON THE AREA OF A QUADRILATERAL

V. Ramakalyani*

Abstract: The present paper is intended to deal with the area of cyclic quadrilateral, in the context of the treatment of the proof or *upapatti* in the commentary titled *Buddhivilāsinī* (1545 C.E.) by Gaṇeśa Daivajña (b.1507) on *Līlāvatī* (1150 C.E.) of Bhāskara II (1114-85 C.E.). Brahmagupta (628 C.E.) has given a rule for finding the area of a quadrilateral and it is repeated in *Līlāvatī* (L), for which Gaṇeśa attempts a proof.

Keywords: area; *upapatti*; cyclic quadrilateral; triangle.

Introduction

There is criticism of Brahmagupta's (598 – 670 C.E) result in his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* (*BSS*, XII.27, 1966) on the area of a quadrilateral *ABCD* with sides of length *a, b, c, d* viz.

$$\text{Area } ABCD = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)} \quad (1)$$

where $s = \frac{a+b+c+d}{2}$, the semi perimeter of the quadrilateral, for the simple reason that there is no mention of cyclicity. Surprisingly even Indian mathematicians like Bhāskara II (160, 1937), not to speak of others, have used strong words of criticism. What is forgotten about Indian mathematics of yore in particular is its origin from natural requirements; whether it was place value system, area of figures, volumes of solids etc. They would think of a triangle as half of a rectangle as the figure (Fig.1) underneath shows, knowing that a rectangle can be folded along its diagonal to get two congruent triangles so that they arrive at the area of a triangle in a natural way.

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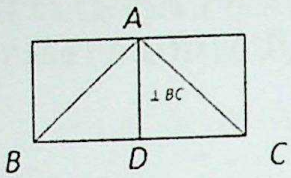

Fig. 1

Note: In Fig. 1, ½ BC × AB sin B = ½ BC × CA Sin C so that $\frac{AB}{\sin C} = \frac{CA}{\sin B}$

Atzema (2015) states that the concern of the Indians for quadrilaterals after considering triangles which are natural shows an urge to extend the study of triangles to quadrilaterals for theoretical purposes (as he intends to make out) with few applications. But making logs of wood from trees with (roughly) circular trunks by chopping of four pieces on the periphery is a common feature in practical life in India. The need for the area of a face of such a log should have been their concern. In this context Bhāskara II (Apte 1937, *L.* 217-18) speaks of pits dug in the ground with rectangular faces. Brahmagupta perhaps was aware of the natural requirement so that he did not mention it explicitly. Such applications in India have not been very well exposed to the rest of the world. For instance, Jhunjhunwala (2009) exposes such knowledge of an Indian carpenter. Arunachalam (1988) brought to one's notice, the use of the Pythagorean triplet (5, 12, 13) by carpenters in Tamilnadu in India, enshrined in a folk song. This was later shown by R.C. Gupta (1990) to include only the Pythagorean triplet (3, 4, 5) along with the earlier one. Another instance was about making a bullock cart wheel which has a rim made of iron of desired radius. The inner wooden part was made in 6 identical circular arc pieces so that the chord of the arc was equal to the radius of the rim. This shows their awareness that a regular hexagon with sides equal in length to the radius of the circle can be inscribed in a circle. Spokes were put at the centre of the arcs and a central 'pot' held these spokes when the 6 arc pieces were juxtaposed to form a circle. The iron rim is heated and placed encircling the circle and then cooled to hold the circular wheel. The fact of expansion of metals under heat was known to them. In hot summer they also noted that the rim could expand and give way to collapse and they used to pour cold water on the rim to avoid this. Another instance of practical application of ideas is that of square root and cube root extraction by an approximate bisection process as found in Śaṅkaravarman's *Sadratnamālā* (Madhavan 2012, 5,15-17).

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Atzema (2015) points out the quick derivation of the formula (1) by Euler using similar triangles. In the Indian tradition similarity seems to have been deduced in natural way, from consideration of areas and proportion. The purpose of the present paper is to give a detailed account of the derivation in Gaṇeśa's *Buddhivilāsinī* (BV) (Apte 1937, 156-58) of (1), first cryptically exposed by Inamdar (1946). Gupta (1977) also mentions this.

Area of a Quadrilateral

A rule by Bhāskara II (Apte 1937, *L.*169), gives expressions for area of a quadrilateral with unequal sides and are a of a triangle in terms of the length of their sides (which was earlier given by Brahmagupta) (Sharma 1966, XII. 27):

When the length of the sides of the quadrilateral are a, b, c, d and s is the semi-perimeter, i.e. $s = \frac{1}{2}(a + b + c + d)$,

Area of the quadrilateral $= \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ (1)

When the sides of the triangle are a, b, c; s is the semi-perimeter, i.e. $s = \frac{1}{2}(a + b + c)$

Area of the triangle $= \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s)}$ (2)

Note: The formula which is applicable to all quadrilaterals, in general, of which it is only a particular case, is as follows[1]:

Area of a quadrilateral $= \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d) - abcd\cos^2\alpha}$ (3) where a, b, c, d, are the sides of the quadrilateral, s is its semi perimeter, and α is half the sum of a pair of opposite angles of the quadrilateral.

Bhāskara II and Gaṇeśa do not say that the formula for area given by Bhāskara II (Apte 1937, *L.*169) is for a cyclic quadrilateral. Bhāskara however questions how the area will be determinate (*niyatam*), while the diagonals are indeterminate (*aniyatam*) (Apte 1937, *L.*171). When the sides are rearranged in a quadrilateral, the diagonals will be different, so area also will be different. The

1. This formula is not given by Bhāskara II.

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formula is proved to be correct for cyclic quadrilateral in Jyeṣṭ adeva's *Gaṇita-yukti–bhāṣā* (Sarma, 2008).

Gaṇeśa Daivajña's Demonstration

The example of Bhāskara II (Apte 1937, *L*.186), used in the *upapatti* in BV (Apte 1937, 156-58) takes up a quadrilateral with 'the sides measuring fifty-two and one less than forty, the summit equal to twenty-five and the base sixty' (Colebrooke. 1993, 121).

The *upapatti* (Apte 1937, 156-58) given by Gaṇeśa (through demonstration) can be explained in terms of the above example as follows: The quadrilateral *ABCD* (in Fig.2) given in the example, has sides *AB*, *BC*, *CD* and *DA* as 25, 39, 60 and 52 units respectively.

In this example (Fig. 2.), face, a is $AB = 25$, shorter side, b is $BC = 39$; base, c is $CD = 60$; longer side, d is $DA = 52$ and half the perimeter, s is $\frac{1}{2}(a + b + c + d) = 88$. The face BA is produced to P such that AP is $\frac{1}{2}$ (base – face) $= \frac{1}{2}(c - a) = \frac{1}{2}(60 - 25)$

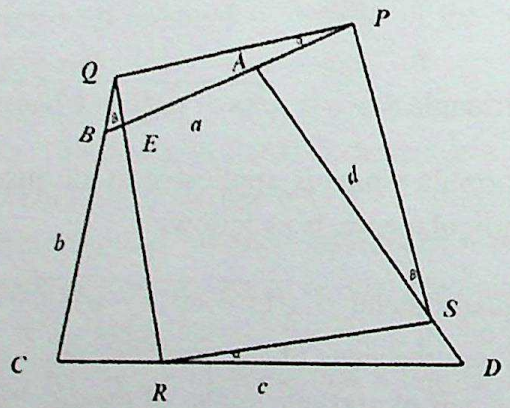

Fig. 2

$= \frac{1}{2} \times 35$. Fig. 2.

Then, the hypotenuse BP of triangle PQB, taken to have PQB as right angle, is

$$BP = BA + AP = 25 + \tfrac{1}{2} \times 35 = \tfrac{1}{2} \times 85 \text{ i.e. } a + \frac{c-a}{2} = \frac{c+a}{2}$$

Q being obtained on CB extended such that $BQ = \frac{1}{2}$ (longer side – shorter side) $= \frac{1}{2}(d - b)$ in this case and the altitude QB of triangle PQB is

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$QB = ½ (52 - 39) = ½ \times 13.$

$QP^2 = BP^2 - QB^2 = 42^2 = \left(\frac{85}{2}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{13}{2}\right)^2 = \left\{\left(\frac{85}{2}\right) + \left(\frac{13}{2}\right)\right\} \left\{\left(\frac{85}{2}\right) - \left(\frac{13}{2}\right)\right\} = \{49\}\{36\} = (s-b)(s-d)$

Taking PQ as one side complete the quadrilateral $PQRS$ such that $\Delta SRD \equiv \Delta QPB$ and $\Delta QCR \equiv \Delta SAP$, $QC = ½ (d + b) = ½ (52 + 39) = \frac{91}{2}$;

$AP = CR = ½ (c - a) = ½ (60 - 25) \frac{35}{2}.$

$QR^2 = QC^2 - CR^2 = 42^2 = \left(\frac{91}{2}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{35}{2}\right)^2 = \left\{\frac{91}{2} + \left(\frac{35}{2}\right)\right\} \left\{\frac{91}{2} - \left(\frac{35}{2}\right)\right\} = 63 \times 28 = (s-a)(s-c)$

The area of the rectangle (stated as *samacaturasra* in Apte, BV, 1937), (in this particular case all sides are of length 42),

$PQRS$ is $QP \times QR = \sqrt{(s-b)(s-d)}, \times \sqrt{(s-a)(s-c)}$

Because of the equality of the pair of triangles it is clear that -

Area of quadrilateral $ABCD$ = Area of $PQRS = \sqrt{(s\check{C}a)(s-b)\ (s\check{C}c)(s-d)}$

In the rectangle $PQRS$ constructed earlier (Fig. 2), it is taken that $\Delta SRD \equiv \Delta QPB$ and $\Delta QCR \equiv \Delta SAP$. Gaṇeśa says (Apte, 1937, 1 58) that if the above equality does not hold, the area of the quadrilateral obtained by the above rule, is not exact.

यत्र क्षेत्रे तु पार्श्वस्त्रयोरूर्ध्वाधस्त्र्योर्वातुल्यत्वं न स्यात्तत्रेदं फलं स्थूलंस्यादिति प्रसिद्धम् ।

'It is well known that in which field, where there is no equality in area among each pair of triangles formed on the sides as also above and below, there the area found by the above rule, is approximate.'

Here the word *prasiddham* meaning well known, reveals that this idea was prevalent during Gaṇeśa's times. The equality (congruence) of triangles mentioned by Gaṇeśa (which gives $\angle SDR = \angle QBP$ in Fig. 2) will happen only if

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the quadrilateral is cyclic. Though Gaṇeśa does not say that the formula for area given is for cyclic quadrilateral, this condition given by him indicates that the formula given is for cyclic quadrilateral. So, the formula for area mentioned can be derived for a cyclic quadrilateral. Note that the possibility of a quadrilateral with the sides prescribed in *Līlāvatī* (Apte 1937, *L*. 186), being cyclic is not taken in to account (Apte 1937, 160). With the sides mentioned and a diagonal measuring 63 (the other being 56), the given quadrilateral is cyclic. (The choice is to have been made by slicing the cross section of a circular trunk of a tree.)

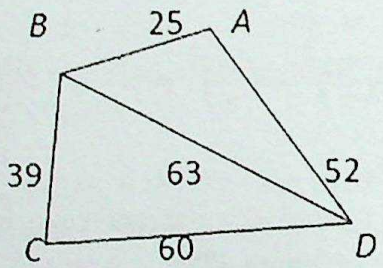

Fig. 3

$$\text{Cos } C = \frac{BC^2 + CD^2 - BD^2}{2 \times BC \times CD} = \frac{39^2 + 60^2 - 63^2}{2 \times 39 \times 60} = \frac{5121 - 3969}{4680} = \frac{16}{65}$$

$$\text{Cos } A = \frac{AB^2 + AD^2 - BD^2}{2 \times AB \times AD} = \frac{25^2 + 52^2 - 63^2}{2 \times 25 \times 52} = \frac{3329 - 3969}{2600} = -\frac{16}{65}$$
$$= -\text{Cos } C = \text{Cos}(180 - C)$$

Cos A = Cos $(180 - C)$ and $A + C = 180$; so that $ABCD$ is a cyclic quadrilateral.

Remark: According to BV (Apte 1937, 156) in the ΔQBP created above, QP is taken as the base, BQ the altitude and BP the hypotenuse, it being tacitly assumed that $\angle BQP$ is a right angle. QP is known and rectangle $PQRS$ is completed (by construction). Gaṇeśa has not mentioned in the *upapatti,* the positions of S and R in the figure. Here ΔQBP is taken to be a triangle right angled at Q and its base, altitude and hypotenuse are given by construction. But, if $PQRS$ is constructed as a rectangle as mentioned in BV (Apte 1937, 157) then $\angle PQR$ is a right angle and hence $\angle PQB$ cannot be a right angle unless QB and QR coincide. So, the assumption that ΔQBP as a right triangle is incorrect. Also, BV (Apte 1937, 157)

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assumes $\angle QRC = 90^0$, but it is not. As $PQRS$ is a constructed rectangle, $\angle QRS = 90^0$; So, $\angle QRC = 90^0 - \angle SRD$.

Application of the Demonstration to a Cyclic Quadrilateral

Upapatti in *Buddhivilāsinī* (Apte 1937, 156-58) is re-written below as applicable to a general cyclic quadrilateral, reviewing the shortcomings therein and it is shown that the rule for area of quadrilateral is true when it is cyclic (referring to Fig. 4)

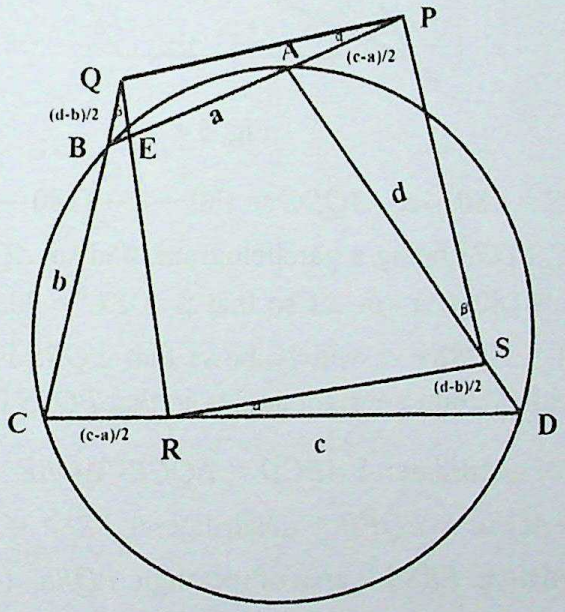

Fig. 4

In Fig. 4, the quadrilateral $ABCD$ is inscribed in the given circle. $BC = b$, $CD = c$, $DA = d$, $AB = a$; without loss of generality, let $c>a$, $d>b$. Extend BA to P such that $AP = \frac{c-a}{2}$; extend CB to Q such that $BQ = \frac{d-b}{2}$. Let R be on CD such that $CR = \frac{c-a}{2}$ and let S be on DA such that $DS = \frac{d-b}{2}$: Draw the quadrilateral $PQRS$.

Let $\angle SRD = \alpha$, $\angle CQR = \beta$. In Δs QBP and SDR, $\angle QBP = \angle SDR$, the former being an exterior angle of the cyclic quadrilateral and the latter the corresponding interior opposite angle; $BP = BA + AP = a + \frac{c-a}{2} = \frac{c+a}{2} = c - \frac{c-a}{2} = CD - CR = DR$ and $BQ = DS$ by construction.

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Hence, $\Delta QBP \equiv \Delta SDR$, implying $QP = SR$ and $\angle QPB = \alpha$. Like wise $\Delta QCR \equiv \Delta SAP$, since $QC = SA = \frac{b+d}{2}$, $CR = AP = \frac{c-a}{2}$ and $\angle QCR = \angle$SAP, yielding $QR = PS$ and $\angle ASP = \beta$. Thus the opposite sides of the quadrilateral $PQRS$ are equal making it a parallelogram as is easily seen using congruence of triangles as indicated in Fig. 5.

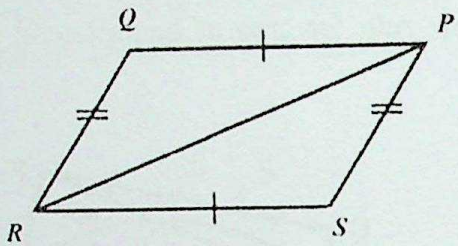

Fig. 5

In Fig. 5, $\angle QRS = 180 - \alpha - \angle QRC = 180 - \alpha - (180 - \beta - \angle C) = \beta + \angle C - \alpha$. ; $\angle QRS = \angle QPS$, $PQRS$ being a parallelogram, and so $\angle QRS = \alpha + \angle APS = \alpha + 180 - \beta - \angle PAS = 180 + \alpha - \beta - \angle C$ so that $\beta + \angle C = 90 + \alpha = \angle QRD$ (exterior angle of ΔQCR) $= \angle QRS + \alpha$, which shows that $\angle QRS$ is 90^0. It follows that all angles of the parallelogram are right angles so that $PQRS$ is a rectangle.

Also, area of quadrilateral $ABCD = \Delta QCR - \Delta QBE + \Delta SRD$ + quadrilateral $ERSA = \Delta SPA - \Delta QBE + \Delta QPB$ + quadrilateral $ERSA = \Delta SPA - \Delta QBE + \Delta QBE + \Delta PQE$ + quadrilateral $ERSA$ = area of rectangle $PQRS$. (4)

To compute the area of the rectangle $PQRS = SR \times QR$, as modified from the treatment of Inamdar (1946), sine formula[2] is applied to ΔSRD:

$$\frac{SR}{\sin D} = \frac{d-b}{2\sin\alpha} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin\angle RSD} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin[180^0-(D+\alpha)]} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin(D+\alpha)} \quad (5)$$

Then, applying the sine formula for ΔQRC:

$$\frac{QR}{\sin C} = \frac{c-a}{2\sin\beta} = \frac{d+b}{2\sin\angle QRC} = \frac{d+b}{2\sin[180^0-(90^0+\alpha)]} = \frac{d+b}{2\sin(90^0+\alpha)} = \frac{d+b}{2\cos\alpha} \quad (6)$$

2. The sine formula is an offshoot of the Indian derivation of the area of a triangle as half of a suitable rectangle. See Note on p. 2.

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It is seen that $\angle C = 180^0 - (\beta + \angle QRC) = 180^0 - (\beta + 90^0 - \alpha) = 90^0 - \beta + \alpha$; and $\angle D = 90^0 - \beta - \alpha$. So that, $\beta + \alpha = 90^0 - \angle D$, $\beta - \alpha = 90^0 - \angle C$, yielding

$$\alpha = \frac{C-D}{2}, \quad \beta = 90^0 - \frac{D+C}{2} \quad (7)$$

From (5) and (7)

$$\left(\frac{c+a}{2}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{d-b}{2}\right)^2 = \frac{SR^2}{\sin^2 D}\left[\sin^2\frac{(C+D)}{2} - \sin^2\frac{(C-D)}{2}\right]$$

$$= \frac{SR^2}{\sin^2 D}\left(\sin\frac{(C+D)}{2} + \sin\frac{(C-D)}{2}\right)\left(\sin\frac{(C+D)}{2} - \sin\frac{(C-D)}{2}\right)$$

$$= \frac{SR^2}{\sin^2 D} .2\sin\frac{C}{2}\cos\frac{D}{2} .2\cos\frac{C}{2}\sin\frac{D}{2}$$

$$= \frac{SR^2}{\sin^2 D}\sin C.\sin D = \frac{SR^2}{\sin D}\sin C \quad (8)$$

From (6) and (7)

$$\left(\frac{d+b}{2}\right)^2 - \left(\frac{c-a}{2}\right)^2 = \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}[\cos^2\alpha - \sin^2\beta]$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}\left[\cos^2\frac{(C-D)}{2} - \sin^2\left(90^0 - \frac{(C+D)}{2}\right)\right]$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}\left[\cos^2\frac{(C-D)}{2} - \cos^2\left(\frac{(C+D)}{2}\right)\right]$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}\left[\cos\frac{(C-D)}{2} + \cos\frac{(C+D)}{2}\right]\left[\cos\frac{(C-D)}{2} - \cos\frac{(C+D)}{2}\right]$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C} 2\cos\frac{C}{2}\cos\frac{D}{2} 2\sin\frac{D}{2}\sin\frac{C}{2}$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}\sin C\sin D = \frac{QR^2}{\sin C}\sin D \quad (9)$$

If $2s = a + b + c + d$, from (8) and (9),

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$$\left\{\left(\frac{d+b}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{c-a}{2}\right)^2\right\}\cdot\left\{\left(\frac{c+a}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{d-b}{2}\right)^2\right\}=\frac{d+b+c-a}{2}\cdot\frac{d+b-c+a}{2}\cdot\frac{c+a+d-b}{2}\cdot\frac{c+a-d+b}{2}$$

$$=(s-a)(s-c)(s-b)(s-d)$$

$$=\frac{QR^2}{\sin C}\sin D\,\frac{SR^2}{\sin D}\sin C$$

$$=QR^2.SR^2$$

area of rectangle $PQRS = QR\,.\,SR$

$$=\sqrt{(s-a)(s-c)(s-b)(s-d)}\,.$$

So, from (4), area of quadrilateral $ABCD = \sqrt{(s-a)(s-c)(s-b)(s-d)}$

Note: In the *upapatti* in BV (Apte 1937, 157) the factors $\frac{\sin C}{\sin D}, \frac{\sin D}{\sin C}$ on the right side of (8), (9) respectively are ignored in the context of deciding the values of length of SR and QR making the conclusions incorrect at that stage, while the final expression for the area of rectangle $PQRS$ is correct.

The *upapatti* in BV (Apte 1937, 156-57) will be as such correct provided sin C = sin D, i.e. when $C = D$ or $C + D = 180^0$. When C = D, $CD \parallel BA$ and if $C + D = 180^0$, then $BC \parallel DA$. In both cases $ABCD$ turns out to be an isosceles trapezium. It suffices to take one of these cases, say, $\angle C = \angle D$. See Fig. 6.

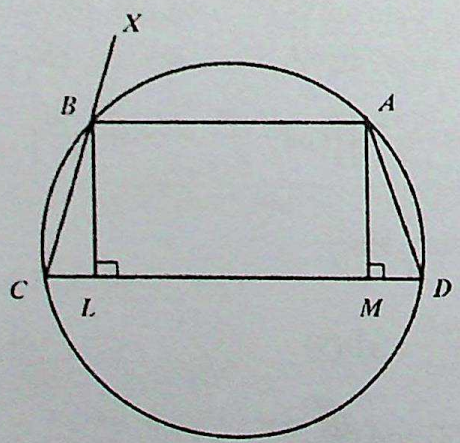

Fig. 6

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In Fig.6, $BA \parallel CD$ since $\angle XBA = \angle XCD$, treating BC as a transversal across the straight lines BA and CD. If BL, AM are perpendicular to CD, $BL = AM$ (distance between parallel lines), $\angle C = \angle D$ (given), $\angle BLC = \angle AMD$, (right angles) so that $\Delta BLC \equiv \Delta AMD$ yielding $BC = AD$, proving that $ABCD$ is an isosceles trapezium[3]. When $\angle C$, $\angle D$ are supplementary treating CD as transversal for the lines BC and AD, then $BC \parallel AD$, so that in this case also $ABCD$ is an isosceles trapezium with $CD = BA$.

Note that $\angle APS = \angle CRQ$, in the example in section 2, become right angles, as asserted therein, but only when $\angle D = \angle C$or $\angle D + \angle C = 180^0$.

Nārāyaṇa (1346 C.E.) in *Gaṇitakaumudī* takes the study of the (cyclic) quadrilateral much farther than Brahmagupta. Nārāyaṇa gives various expressions for the circum radius in *Gaṇitakaumudī*. The area of a (cyclic) quadrilateral is given in terms of three diagonals (Dvivedi 1936, *Sūtra* 52.) :

द्विगुणव्यासविभक्तेत्रिकर्णघातथवागणितम् ।

'When the product of the three diagonals is divided by twice the circum-diameter, we get the area.'

BV does not mention explicitly about cyclic quadrilateral, either after the rule for the area of quadrilateral or after the rule for finding the diagonals of the quadrilateral. But *Kriyākramakarī* [4] (1534 -1558 C.E., pre-Euler period) clearly discusses about cyclic quadrilateral in its commentary after the rule to find the diagonals of a quadrilateral (Sarma, 1975, 348):

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3. Note that an isosceles trapezium is necessarily cyclic: In $ABCD$, $BA \parallel CD$, BC is transversal, implies that $\angle B$, $\angle C$ are supplementary, while $\angle C = \angle D$, so that $\angle B$ and $\angle D$, the opposite angles, are supplementary proving that $ABCD$ is cyclic.
4. A commentary on *Līlāvatī* written by Śaṅkara and Nārāyaṇa.

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वृत्तगतक्षेत्रकर्णाः योगजीवाश्च-ननु विषमचतुरश्रमनियतकर्णमेवक्षेत्रं, तत्कथं तत्रनियतकर्णावाप्तिरितिचेत्, तादृशस्य क्षेत्रस्यवृत्तक्षेत्रान्तर्गतत्वात् । तद्यथा-तत्र चतस्त्रोऽपिभुजाः परिधिस्पृष्टोभयाग्राः परिकल्पयितव्याः ।... क्षेत्रमध्यतस्तुल्यान्तरे ये जीवेतेतुल्यप्रमाणे एव ।...

'The diagonals and the arcs corresponding to the chords – In a quadrilateral (in which 4 sides are only given) the diagonals are not fixed[5], then how fixed diagonals are obtained, then it is because the quadrilateral is inscribed in a circle (cyclic quadrilateral). It is as – there both the end points of the four sides are to be on the circumference.'

Area of a Triangle

As pointed out by Atzema (2015) Euler derives the formula (1) from Heron's formula for area of triangle. We point out that the method used for quadrilateral (Apte 1937, BV. 156-57) can be applied to triangle to find its area when its sides are known, as a limiting case of a quadrilateral.

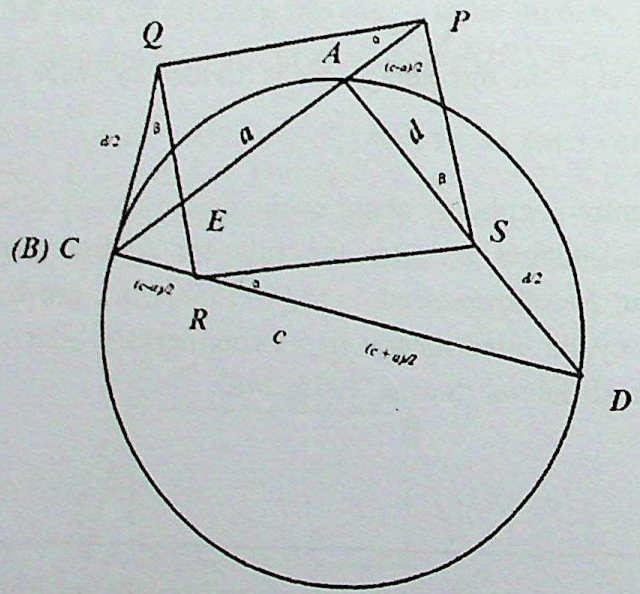

Fig. 7

5. When only 4 sides of quadrilateral are given, when sides are interchanged, the lengths of diagonals vary and many diagonals are possible.

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In Fig. 7, as B approaches C, the length BA $(=b)$ is decreasing, AB tends to coincide with AC and when B coincides with C, the length b becomes zero and AB $(= a)$ coincides with AC, a triangle ACD is formed. BC becomes the tangent CQ to the circum circle of ΔACD at C (Fig. 7). Extend CA to P, such that $AP = \frac{c-a}{2}$ and $CQ = \frac{d}{2}$. Mark R and S such that $CR = \frac{c-a}{2}$ and $DS = \frac{d}{2}$. Let $\angle QCP = x$. In triangles QCP and SDR, $QC = DS\ 0 = \frac{d}{2}$; $CP = RD = \frac{c+a}{2}$; and $\angle QCP = \angle SDR = x$ (angle in the alternate segment). So, $\Delta QCP \equiv \Delta SDR$. Hence $\angle QPC = \angle SRD = \alpha$, say, and $QP = RS$.

In triangles QCR and SAP, $QC = SA = \frac{d}{2}$; $CR = AP = \frac{c-a}{2}$; $\angle QCR = x + \angle ACD = \angle SAP$. So, $\Delta QCR \equiv \Delta SAP$. Hence $\angle CQR = \angle ASP = \beta$, say, and $QR = PS$. As opposite sides are equal, $PQRS$ is a parallelogram. $\angle QRS = 180^0 - \alpha - \angle QRC = 180^0 - \alpha - (180^0 - \beta - x - \angle PCR) = -\alpha + \beta + \angle QCR$.

$\angle QPS = \alpha + \angle APS = \alpha + (180^0 - \beta - \angle SAP)$. In parallelogram $PQRS$, $\angle QRS = \angle QPS$. i.e. $(-\alpha + \beta + \angle QCR) = \alpha + 180^0 - \beta - \angle SAP$. i.e. $\beta + \angle QCR = 90^0 + \alpha$ and $\angle QRD = \beta + \angle QCR = 90^0 + \alpha = \angle QRS + \alpha$ i.e. $\angle QRS = 90^0$. Hence, $PQRS$ is a rectangle.

Let QR and CP intersect at E. Also, $\Delta CDA = \Delta SRD$ + quad. $AERS + \Delta CER = \Delta QPC$ + quad. $AERS + \Delta QCR - \Delta QCE = \Delta QCE + \Delta QEP$ + quad. $AERS + \Delta APS - \Delta QCE$ = rectangle $PQRS$. i.e. area of ΔCDA = area of rectangle $PQRS$ = $QR \times SR$.

Applying sine formula to ΔSRD,

$$\frac{SR}{\sin D} = \frac{d}{2\sin\alpha} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin\angle RSD} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin[180^0-(D+\alpha)]} = \frac{c+a}{2\sin(D+\alpha)} \tag{10}$$

Applying the sine formula for ΔADQ:

$$\frac{QR}{\sin C} = \frac{c-a}{2\sin\beta} = \frac{d}{2\sin\angle QRC} = \frac{d}{2\sin[180^0-(90^0+\alpha)]} = \frac{d}{2\sin(90^0+\alpha)} = \frac{d}{2\cos\alpha} \tag{11}$$

$\alpha = \frac{C-D}{2}$, $\beta = 90^0 - \frac{C+D}{2}$ [see equation (7)]

From (10) and (11)

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$$\left(\frac{c+a}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{d}{2}\right)^2 = \frac{SR^2}{\sin^2 D}\left[\sin^2\frac{(C+D)}{2}-\sin^2\frac{(C-D)}{2}\right]$$

$$= \frac{SR^2}{\sin D}\sin C \text{ [asin equation (8)]}$$

$$\left(\frac{s+q}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{r-p}{2}\right)^2 = \frac{QR^2}{\sin^2 C}[\cos^2\alpha-\sin^2\beta]$$

$$= \frac{QR^2}{\sin C}\sin D\text{[as in equation (9)]}$$

If $2s = a+c+d$,

$$\left\{\left(\frac{d+b}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{c-a}{2}\right)^2\right\}\cdot\left\{\left(\frac{c+a}{2}\right)^2-\left(\frac{d}{2}\right)^2\right\}=\frac{d+c-a}{2}\cdot\frac{d-c+a}{2}\cdot\frac{c+a+d}{2}\cdot\frac{c+a-d}{2}$$

$$=(s-a)(s-c)(s)(s-d)$$

$$=\frac{AD^2}{\sin Q}\sin R\,\frac{CD^2}{\sin R}\sin Q$$

$$=AD^2.CD^2$$

so that area of triangle PQR = area of rectangle $ABCD = AD\,.\,CD$

$$=\sqrt{(s)(s-a)(s-c)(s-d)}$$

Conclusion

The discussions given here bring out that Brahmagupta's formula for the area of a quadrilateral (Sharma, 1966, XII.27) is a formula for the area of a cyclic quadrilateral.

Ancient Indian authors derive rules for practical purposes. It may be pointed out that Indian authors approach parallel lines through the concept of *samānalamba* (Apte 1937, 162) (with perpendicular lengths dropped from points on one line on the other being constant)and using ideas relating to areas in a natural way.

The formula given in *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* (Sharma, 1966, XII.27) to find the area of a quadrilateral and of a triangle, when their sides are given, are repeated in *Līlāvatī* (Apte 1937, 169). Bhāskara II says that this formula gives only approximate area for a quadrilateral. He gives example (Apte, 1937, verse 175) where this formula fails to give the correct area. Commentator Gaṇeśa Daivajña

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says (Apte 1937, 158) that his demonstration and the formula for area of quadrilateral are true only when each of two pairs of triangles formed (Fig. 4) on the sides and triangles above and below are congruent (which is true in cyclic quadrilateral) and thereby recognises the formula holds good for specific quadrilaterals though he does not mention about cyclic quadrilaterals. But Nārāyaṇa in *Gaṇitakaumudī*, (1346 C.E.) and Śaṅkara in *Kriyākramakarī* (1534 - 1558 C.E.) discuss the results of cyclic quadrilaterals, while Jyeṣṭhadeva in *Gaṇitayuktibhāṣā* (Sarma, 2008) gives a proof, showing Brahmagupta's formula for the area of a quadrilateral is a formula for the area of cyclic quadrilateral.

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VIṢṆU OR VĀSUDEVA KṚṢṆA IMAGE IN CHAIYA: A REVIEW OF INDIA-SIAM CULTURAL INTERACTION

Bhaswati Mukhopadhyay*

Abstract: Culture is a phenomenon which goes beyond boundaries. In other words, we cannot restrict it within the state defined political boundaries. The notion of interaction among different cultures has been characterized by scholars of Cultural Studies throughout the ages. The interaction between India and various countries of Southeast Asia can be traced back to pre-Common Era. In the course of this interaction, there occurred a cultural interaction between India and her neighbouring Southeast Asian countries since early centuries of the Common Era. Southeast Asian communities were aware of Indic religious ideas before the spread of proper Brahmanical and Buddhist iconographic worship in this region. One of the earliest Indian inspired images in Southeast Asia is a stone sculpture of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa dated to 400 C.E. The present paper aims to discuss an important aspect for comparing the Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa image of Chaiya and contemporary Indian Viṣṇu images, i.e. iconography. This article takes up Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva- Kṛṣṇa image of Chaiya as an instance to understand the extent of penetration of Indian culture in Siam as well as in other regions of Southeast Asia.

Keywords: *Southeast Asia, Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa*, Chaiya Siam

A state defined political border cannot confine a phenomenon like culture. It naturally goes beyond boundaries. The notion of interaction among different cultures has been characterized by scholars of cultural studies throughout the century. While some believe in the changing nature of transmigrated culture, others propound the non-changing aspect of culture. Culture Studies emerged as one of the significant academic issues during the last quarter of the twentieth

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century. We know that, culture is an integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other aptitudes and habits acquired by man as a member of society. It is a set of shared attitudes, values and practices that characterizes an institution or organization or group. The classic definition of culture was provided by Edward Burnett Tylor, the 19th century English Anthropologist who opined that "culture is contagious". What he meant is that customs, beliefs, tools, techniques, folktales, ornaments and so on may diffuse from one person or region to another. (Tylor E.B, 1994, 874)

The interaction between India and her neighbouring Southeast Asian countries dates back to prehistoric ages. Subsequently, the Southeast Asians got influenced by Indian culture. At the outset, the prime catalyst of the interacting process between India and Southeast Asia was the mercantile community. In other words, trade was the chief carrier of Indian culture to Southeast Asia. It is commonly acknowledged that, in the course of this interaction, there occurred a cultural interaction between India and her neighbouring Southeast Asian countries since early centuries of the Common Era. Siam (present Thailand) had cultural or more precisely trade linkages with India from more than 2000 years ago and in this way of cultural interaction ideas of Indian culture (art, religion, language and literature), permeated its influence on Siam as well other Southeast Asian regions. However, the present article expects to discuss an important aspect for relating the earliest reported Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa image from Siam and its nearby contemporary Indian Viṣṇu images, i.e. iconography. This article takes up Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa image of Chaiya as an example to realize the extent of diffusion of Indian culture in Siam as well as in other regions of Southeast Asia. Finally it derives conclusion about the differing views of social scientists on interactive nature of culture and finds the hypothesis about the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa image of Chaiya.

Viṣṇu, one of the most illustrious deities of Brahmanical pantheon, had appeared as a supreme deity who was the preserver of all living entities since the *Ṛgvedic* period in India. Viṣṇu had a vast popularity in almost all over India. When Southeast Asia met with the Indian culture, along with other cultural influences, Viṣṇu worship was also popularized in those regions. The Viṣṇu cult which was exclusively Indian Brahmanic culture became popular in Southeast Asia.

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Southeast Asian communities had cognizance of Indic religious ideas before the dissemination of formal Brahmanical and Buddhist iconographic worship in this region. Viṣṇu, the most popular Brahmanical deity of Southeast Asia, reached there in the wake of the seafaring enterprises. It was the time when there was growth and development of navigational skills and techniques and those were linked to the importance of seafaring. Moreover, the liberal attitudes of the Buddhist religion and to some extent the Vaishnavites towards transoceanic voyages geared up the seafaring mercantile network. Manguin puts the hypothesis that, the popularity of Viṣṇu in ancient Southeast Asia was due to the role played by Vaishnavism in Southeast Asian trading networks. (Dalshemeir and Manguin; 1988, 89-116) One of the earliest Indian inspired images in Southeast Asia is a stone sculpture of Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (figure 1) dated to 5th century C.E. (Krairiksh P, 2012, 100) recovered from Chaiya, a site on the Thai-Malaysian Isthmus and the likely location of ancient kingdom of P'an P'an.

At this juncture it is fascinating to discuss the relations between Viṣṇu and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as we find in Indian literary and epigraphical sources. There has been much written source about the history of Vaisnavism, still the monotheistic God Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa remains a mystery to the scholars. Coming to the legends of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, in the *Mahābhārata*, he is primarily a warrior god, friend and philosopher of the Pāṇḍavas. Evidently the Brahmanical recognition of the child-god and his identification with the hero-god of the *Vṛṣṇi* race is later than the recognition of the latter and his identification with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. Sudhakar Chattopadhyay has opined that the worship of Vāsudeva and other *Vṛṣṇi* chiefs was the result of hero worship of the tribal chiefs. These heroes were apotheosized and identified with the Vedic God Viṣṇu. (Chattopadhyay S, 1970, 53) Grierson first propounded that Bhagavatism was a development of Sun-worship, and Kṛṣṇa, himself was a worshipper of the Sun. (Jaiswal S, 1967, 70) The Vedic priests identified Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu to counter Buddhism and active propaganda of Aśoka. It is pointed out that in the *Bhagavadgītā* Arjuna often addresses Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as Viṣṇu. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador stated that Herakles (Kṛṣṇa) has attained special honour by *Saurasenoi* an Indian tribe who enjoyed two large cities Mathora and Cleisbra. (Pulaskar, 1955, 65) Herakles has been acknowledged with Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and *Saurasenoi* with *Sūrasena*

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Yādavas. K. P. Jaiswal, on the basis of a passage occurring in the *tarpaṇa* section of Baudhāyana's *Dharma Sūtra* writes that Kṛṣṇa identified with Viṣṇu as early as the fourth century B.C.E., the generally accepted date of the work. The passage refers the oblations to Viṣṇu by his twelve well-known names Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Govinda, Viṣṇu, Madhusūdana, Trivikrama, Vāmana, Śrīdhara, Hṛṣikeśa, Padmanābha and Dāmodara. The same passage also explains the names of Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa and Sattvata in a similar fashion. (Jaiswal S, 1967, 76)

The tales of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa appear to have been quite popular in the early centuries preceding and following the Common Era. Patañjali denotes to these on several occasions. In the first century C.E. the Buddhist author Aśvaghoṣa indicates full acquaintance with Kṛṣṇa. The records of the Gupta period indicate that Krishnaite mythology was fully evolved and well known. The Mandasor inscription of 404 C.E. states that with the coming of the rainy season, the festival of Indra began as it was "then (i.e. in the past) allowed by Kṛṣṇa". (Sircar D. C, 1965, 377) It seems to refer to the episode of the enlivening of the mount Govardhana when Kṛṣṇa after subduing Indra allowed his worship to endure. However, the *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhat Samhitā* narrate a different myth in association with the festival of Indra's flag.

The Tusam rock inscription of the fifth century C.E. describes Viṣṇu as "a mighty bee on the water lily which is the face of Jambavati." (Jaiswal S, 1967, 88) Jambavati was one of the queens of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and the record substantiates complete identification of Viṣṇu with Kṛṣṇa. Thus, according to Suvira Jaiswal, it was through a process of synthesis and amalgamation that a popular non-Āryan divinity came to be documented as the most important and powerful human incarnation of the supreme God Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu. (Jaiswal S, 1967, 88) According to Hartel, the Viṣṇu of the Vedas was comparatively minor divinity, and the god named Viṣṇu does not appear in Indian epigraphy until the Gupta period. The Brahmanical deity properly called 'Viṣṇu' probably first appeared in art during the transitional period from late Kushana to the early Gupta period and thus, the so-called Kushana Viṣṇu images should be acknowledged as representations of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. (Hartel H, 1987, 573-587)

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The well-known Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu) image from Chaiya, Surat Thani province in Peninsular Siam has gathered substantial attention but there is little unanimity among scholars concerning the date or immediate stylistic precedents. In Southeast Asia Chaiya image appears as the first conch-on-hip image and this style continued to the sixth and perhaps early seventh centuries C.E. We can trace the ancestry of the first conch-on-hip images with ultimately to several Kushana period sculptures from Mathura that share similar iconographic features with the Chaiya image. Including the anterior proper right hand lifted up with the palm outward in the gesture of *abhayamudrā* or *vyaṛttamudrā*, the mace held in the posterior right hand and the conch held against the hip. Like these Kushana examples, the Chaiya image in all possibility has held a *cakra* in his now lost posterior left hand.

Vaiṣṇava images of the conch-on–hip type seem to have first appeared in the Kushana art of Mathura (Second-Third century C.E.) remained fairly common through the Gupta period (fourth to mid sixth century C.E.) and followed occasionally in Indian art thereafter.

Scholars have convincingly established that this iconography belongs precisely to an early form of Viṣṇu known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, one of the five *Vṛṣṇi Vīra* who were apotheosized probably no later than the early second century B.C.E. By the late second or early first century B.C.E., Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa seems to have appeared as the most significant of the deified *Vṛṣni* heroes and the foremost deity of Bhagavatism while the prominence of the others gradually diminished. (Jaiswal S; 1967; 90)

Stanley O'Connor (O'Connor; 1972; 33) put emphasis on stylistic resemblances between Mathura sculpture and the Chaiya Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, such as the carving of the posterior right hand against the mace, the banded decoration of the mace, and the prearrangement of the jewelry. There are, however, significant stylistic variances between them. Most probably the Mathura images of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, whether carved in high relief or in the round, tend to have a more fully modeled. They lack the looping sash, and many of them wear a turban. When cylindrical crowns or mitres do appear in Mathura art, is perhaps a slightly later

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advancement. Cylindrical mitres seemed during the transitional period from late or post Kushanas to early Guptas.

O'Connor first turned to a Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa sculpture from Bhinmal in Rajasthan (figure 2) and assumed to date to c.400 C.E. Later most art historians acknowledged it as a later image. He represented that the two sculptures not only exhibit analogous iconography but that they seem to develop from the same 'stylistic current'. (O'Connor S, 1972, 35)

A headless Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa sculpture from Yaleswaram (figure 3) and a relief from Kondamotu (figure 4) that illustrates Narasiṁha and the *Vṛṣṇi* heroes, including Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa were near contemporary with Chaiya image. These images were then assumed to date to the fourth-fifth and third-fourth centuries C.E. respectively. (Khan M, 1963, 14) The early fourth century, however, may be the latest logical date for both. They both have only two arms, but like the Chaiya image, they grasp a conch against the left hip, wear a garment that clasps the low-arching sash, and are adorned with heavy earrings that wrap onto the shoulders. Based on these similarities, O'Connor concluded that, although the 'ultimate prototypes' for the Chaiya image may be sought in Kushana period Mathura, "the most immediate stylistic influence seems to be from the fourth century art of Āndhradeśa." (O'Connor, 1972, 39)

According to Piriya Krairiksh there are a number of substantial problems with his opinions. First, it is uncertain that the 'two-armed' Yaleswaram and Kondamotu images would have had a direct or 'immediate' association with the four armed Chaiya image. (Brown R, 2000, 4) Furthermore, the *kirīṭamukuṭa* carried by the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa in the Kondamotu relief does not identical with Chaiya image, neither in its overall form nor its ornamentation. The Kondamotu Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa crowned with a cylindrical *kirīṭamukuṭa*.

Rather than the Kondamotu Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, a much better South Asian comparison for the *kirīṭamukuṭas* worn by the Chaiya and Wat Phra Phreng (figure 5) sculptures is to be found on hat is probably a Viṣṇu image originally from the Śiva temple of Bhumara (Madhya Pradesh, India), a temple that scholars variably date from the mid fifth century to *circa* 520-530 C.E. In all the three cases, there is a remarkably similar low-relief pattern of flattened foliate forms

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that scroll outward from centrally placed and vertically arranged nodes to cover the entire front face of that mitre.

Rather than the fourth century Andhra image, researchers have stressed aesthetic associations with the fifth-sixth century sculpture of northern India. In this perspective it should be pointed out again that there is a little consensus about the dating of this image. It may be presumed that Michael de Havenon (Havenon M, 2006-7, 90) has rightly attempted to date more precisely the Chaiya image to the "second quarter of the 6th century". Hiram Woodward (Woodward H, 2003, 43) while observing resemblances between the earrings of the Chaiya Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and fourth century sculpture from northeastern India, has accentuated the similar treatment of the necklace and belt shared by the Chaiya image and early fifth century Gupta sculpture. Robert L. Brown (Brown R, 1992, 46-47) detected that both the low looping sash and the long earrings that extend onto the shoulders are attested in the fifth-sixth century sculpture of western and northern India. Robert Brown (Brown R, 1992, 46, 51) also related the Chaiya Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa with the Viṣṇu from Mandasor in Madhya Pradesh (figure 6) and Bhinmal (Rajasthan), particularly in terms of the similar way the ears are pushed forward.

Today few academicians agree with U. P. Shah's date of circa 400 C.E. (Shah U, 1955, 54) for the Bhinmal image, a date upon which O'Connor also relied. Although the embellishment of the Bhinmal mitre is quite similar to a Kushana head of Indra from Mathura, the most thorough deliberations of the Bhinmal and Mandasor images suggest an early sixth century date; perhaps around 500 CE for the Bhinmal and 510-520 CE for the latter. (Williams J, 1982, 142-143) It is expected that the Chaiya Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa dates to the late fifth or early sixth century, with a rational appraisal of circa 500 C.E.

The question of the role of southern Indian impact cannot be entirely repudiated. In addition to the Yaleswaram and Kondamotu images, the looping sash and shoulder-length, sometimes tasseled, earrings occur together on several second-third centuries CE sculptures from Andhra Pradesh. (Krairiksh, 2012, 14) It is also worth to mention that the Chaiya figure did not hold the conch in exactly the same manner as most of the northern Indian statues. Whereas Kushana Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa inclined to grasp the conch against the hip, some northern Indian images from

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fourth-fifth century CE like Bhinmal and Mandasor hold the conch in a very specific fashion with three fingers inserted into the aperture. The thumb is placed on the apex of the conch and the little finger projects across the aperture, but is not inserted into it. In contrast, the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa statues from Yaleswaram and Kondamotu, the Chaiya image upholds the position of the thumb but neatly tuck all four fingers into the aperture of the conch. This hand position also follows, however, on some northern Indian images of the Gupta period.

Conclusion

The Chaiya image of peninsular Siam is a fine example of Indian influenced artistry which originated in Southeast Asia. Most likely, this very image was a copy of Indian creativity but at the same time there were local innovations. In course of time, we discover that the Indian art was clearly transformed into Southeast Asian style. The local artisans had produce creative excellence by following the Indian style but in some cases they also shaped a few original figures instead of emulating the old ones. In the beginning of the article we talked that the different features of culture may diffuse from one person or region to another. However, it is most feasible to conclude that Brahmanical divinities reached Siam in the wake of the journey of seafaring Indian traders which later on absorbed in Siamese cultural structure with a few modifications. So, it can be assumed that Indian culture migrated to Siam and also to Southeast Asia and associated with the local culture of there. Above all, the Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa image of Chaiya is one of the best instances of early India-Siam cultural interaction. Finally, it can be concluded that, the Chaiya image is an excellent example of shared or fusion culture because this sculpture had associated both the qualities of Indianisation and localization.

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Fig. 1. Viṣṇu, Chaiya Dist. Surat Thani Province
National Museum, Bangkok

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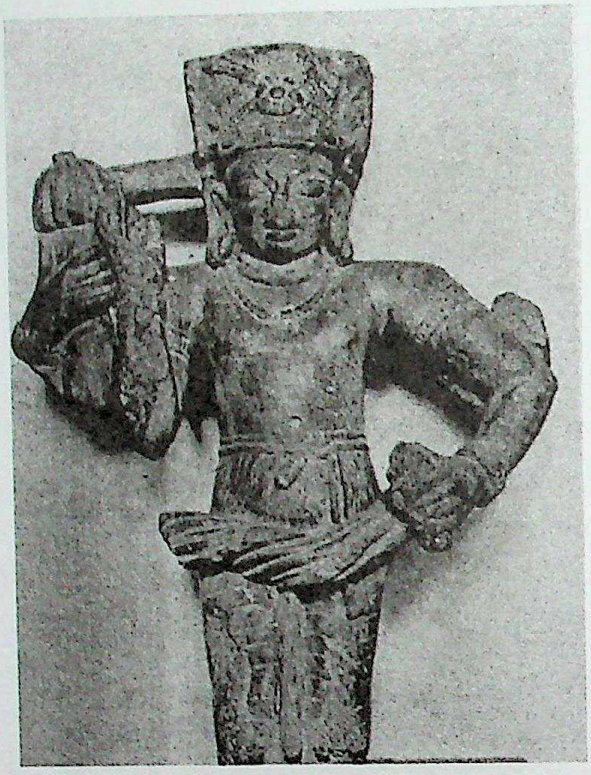

Fig. 2. Viṣṇu from Bhinmal, Rajasthan Baroda Museum

Fig. 3. Viṣṇu from Yaleswaram, Andhra Pradesh State Museum, Hyderabad

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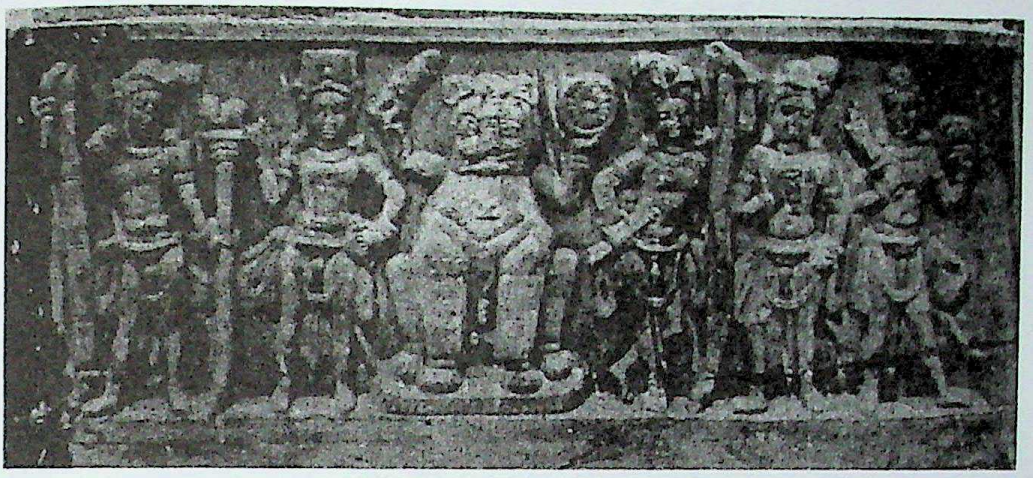

Fig. 4. Viṣṇu, Detail of Narsiṁha relief, Andhra Pradesh State Museum, Hyderabad

Fig. 5. Viṣṇu, Nakhon Si Thammarat Nakhon Si Thammarat National Museum

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Fig. 6. Viṣṇu from Mandasor, Madhya Pradesh
Mandasor Circuit House

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SOME THOUGHTS ON THE PLACE AND DATE OF THE COMMENTATOR DĀRILA[+]

Shilpa Sumant[*]

Abstract: The present article is the translation of Marathi article Bahulkar, Shrikant, 1976. "Bhāṣyakāra Dārilācyā Sthalakālāsaṁbandhī Kāhī Vicār". published in: *Marāṭhvāḍā Saṁśodhan Maṇḍaḷ Vārṣik. (Annual Number),* Shirur Tajband: 125–136." The article gives information about the place and date of Dārila, who is the commentator on *Kauśikasūtra.* The article is annotated by the present author. The notes on the updated information on the atharvavedic texts with extensive bibliography is provided in the article.

Keywords: Dārila, *Dārilabhāṣya, Kauśikasūtra, Atharvaveda.*

The name Dārila is well-known to scholars of Vedic studies. However, not much information about him has thus far come to light. The only thing known about Dārila is that he is the commentator of the *Kauśikasūtra* (KauśS) belonging to the *Atharvaveda* (AV). But we know nothing about his date and place. This paper is written with the intention to initiate discussion about these issues.

But before starting this discussion, I feel it necessary to give some information about the AV, the KauśS and other Ātharvaṇic literature.

It is clear from historical evidence that there were nine *śākhā*s of the AV.LM [नवधाथर्वणो वेदः Mahābhāṣya 1.1.1.7; अथर्ववेदस्य नव भेदा भवन्ति । तद्यथा पैप्पलादाः तौदाः मौदाः

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+ This is the translation of Bahulkar 1976. In the original article, the author provides bibliographical information as endnotes. These endnotes are shifted to the exhaustive bibliography prepared by the translator at the end of this translated article. Other endnotes of the author are incorporated in the main body of the text in square brackets. The footnotes appearing below are by the translator

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शौनकीया जाजलाः ब्रह्मवदाः देवदर्शाः चारणवैद्याश्चेति । Introduction to Sāyaṇa's commentary, Vishva Bandhu (1960: 23). Cf. also Introduction to *Keśavapaddhati*. p. xvii-xviii; Bloomfield (1899: xi-xiii).] The *Saṁhitā* that we recognize by the name of the AV is the *Śaunakasaṁhitā*,[1] which has spread more prominently. There is another *śākhā* of the AV named *'Paippalāda'*, the *Saṁhitā* manuscripts of which were found in the states of Kashmir[2] and Orissa.[3] However, the mss. are without accents and in fragmented form. The following material of the Śaunaka recension is available:

1. *Saṁhitā*
2. *Gopathabrāhmaṇa*[4]

1. *Sūtras: Kauśikasūtra*[5] and *Vaitānaśrautasūtra*[6]
2. *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas:*[7] 72 in total

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1. Cf. Roth & Whitney 1856; Pandit 1894-98 and Vishva Bandhu 1960-62.
2. On the basis of the single birch bark ms. Bloomfield's pupil L.C. Barret prepared an edition of the twenty *kāṇḍa*s. Edgerton helped Barret for *kāṇḍa* six. Later on an edition based on that single ms. was prepared by Raghu Vira in *Devanāgarī*, which contains some improvements and the parallel passages with the *Śaunakasaṁhitā*. Cf. Barret 1905-40 and Raghu Vira 1936-42.
3. Durgamohan Bhattacharyya discovered the Oriya mss. of the *Paippalādasaṁhitā* in 1959 and edited the first four *kāṇḍa*s. Cf. Bhattacaryya 1964 and 1970. After his death, his son Dipak Bhattacharya continued the editorial work and brought out the edition between 1997 and 2016. Many western scholars, not satisfied with Bhattacharya's edition are in preparation of a fresh annotated translation and have published some of the *kāṇḍa*s of the *Paippalādasaṁhitā*. Cf. Selva 2019: 203ff for details on the status of editorial work of this *Saṁhitā*
4. Cf. Mitra & Haracandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1872; Gaastra 1919.
5. Cf. Bloomfield 1889. For the available translations of the text, cf. Bloomfield (1889: xx); Caland 1900, Bahulkar 1994.
6. Cf. Vishva Badhu 1967.
7. Cf. Bolling & von Negelein 1909-10; Modak 1993; Bisschop and Griffiths 2003; Bisschop and Griffiths 2008.

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3. *Upaniṣads*:[8] *Praśna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya* etc. (There is a dispute about the number.)

The KauśS is utilized as its *Gṛhyasūtra* in the *Atharvaveda* tradition. But the scope of the KauśS is much more wider in subject matter as compared to other *Gṛhyasūtras.* Typical rites in the Ātharvaṇic tradition such as sorcery, medical ritual for curing diseases, *Savas,* pacification of omens and portents are prescribed in this *sūtra.* Another name for the KauśS is *Saṁhitāvidhi.* The five *kalpas,* i.e. five treatises necessary for the AV rituals are as follows:

1. *Nakṣtrakalpa (Atharvavedapariśiṣta 1)*[9]
2. *Vaitānakalpa (Vaitānaśrautasūtra / Śaunakīyakalpa)*
3. *Saṁhitāvidhi*[10]
4. *Āṅgirasakalpa* (unpublished)[11]
5. *Śāntikalpa*[12]

Among these five treatises especially the *Saṁhitāvidhi* is of manyfold importance. The application of almost all the *mantras* in the seventeen *kāṇḍas* out of 20, viz. 1 to 14 and 16 to 18, is explained by the *Sūtra.* Sāyaṇa, the commentator on the AV says: तत्र साकल्येन संहितामन्त्राणां विनियोगविधानात् संहिताविधिर्नाम कौशिकं सूत्रम् । तदेव इतरैः सूत्रैरुपजीव्यत्वात् प्रधानं च.[13] The KauśS is the principal text in the ancillary literature of the AV. It proves fundamental for the interpretation of the AV.

Maurice Bloomfield quotes in the footnotes of his KauśS edition, the passages from the *Dārilabhāṣya* (DB), which were available to him. Similarly, he quotes

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8. For more details, cf. Bloomfield (1897: xviii-xx); Griffiths 2007.
9. Cf. Bahulkar 1984.
10. This is another name of the *Kauśikasūtra.*
11. Cf. Bahulkar 1987; Griffiths (2007: 146-47); Sanderson (2007: 209ff).
12. Cf. Bolling 1913, Bahulkar 1984, Modak 1993.
13. "Because of the complete employment of the *mantras* of the *Saṁhitā* in various pacificatory and prosperity rites, the *Kauśika Sūtra* is a *Saṁhitāvidhi* and because the other *sūtras* rely just on this *[sūtra]* it is the most important." Cf. Vishva Bandhu (1960: 23).

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the passages from the texts based on the KauśS, viz. *Kauśikapaddhati* (KauP), *Ātharvaṇapaddhati,*[14] *Daśakarmāṇi*[15] and *Antyeṣṭipaddhati.*[16] It seems that two copies of the DB were available to Bloomfield, one of which is from the Royal Library of Berlin. (Currently, it is deposited in the Library of Tübingen University.)[17] Another copy was made available to him by Shankar Pandurang Pandit, the editor of the AV *Saṁhitā.* It was previously in the possession of Beṅkū Bhaṭjī Gore alias Veṅkū Dājī, an Atharvavedin hailing from the Sānglī region of Maharashtra. (The status of this copy, where it presently lies, is not known.) Thus, the Tübingen copy has become a *codex unicus.* Both these had been copied from a common codex. Dārila's commentary as available to Bloomfield covers only up to the 48th out of the 141 *kaṇḍikā*s of the KauśS (that means out of fourteen chapters, up to the 2nd *kaṇḍikā* of the 6th *Abhicārādhyāya*). This ms. of the incomplete commentary is very corrupt and it seems that the scribe of the ms. did not know Sanskrit.

This commentary of Dārila (up to the 48th *kaṇḍikā*) was published by the editorial board of H.R. Diwekar, V.P. Limaye, R.N. Dandekar, C.G. Kashikar and V.V. Bhide in 1972 through Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth. The editors obtained the photocopy of the *codex unicus* from the Tübingen University. It will not be an exaggeration if we call this copy an *apapāṭhaskhalitaratnākara*, an ocean of

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14. Cf. Bloomfield (1889: xiv). Another ms. is preserved at BORI as no. 10/1870-71. The name in the catalogues is *Saṁhitāvidhivivaraṇa,* as the work is an interpretation of the KauśS.
15. The ms. for this text used by Bloomfield is deposited at BORI as no. 153/1879-80. The name of the text appears in the colophon as *'Daśakarma'.*
16. Cf. Bloomfield (1889: xvi).
17. During the second world war the mss. from various libraries in Germany including the DB codex were sent to the Abbey of Beuron, and after the war moved to Tübingen university library. The editors of the DB acquired the photocopy of the ms. when it was in the Tübingen University. In late seventies, the DB ms. went to the Oriental Department of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin State Library), where it is currently preserved. The no. of the ms. is Ms. Or. Oct 343d.

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errant, wrong readings. The editors have strived hard with this ms. for five years to achieve the most appropriate meaning and have almost re-written the text. In printing the text, on one side of the book has been shown the photograph of the ms. folio while the edited text appearing on that folio has been given on the other side. The purpose behind this is that the readers are not left dependent on the edited text alone. It is possible for them to read the ms. of the commentary on their own and suggest proper readings.

The DB is the only available commentary on the KauśS and is very useful for determining the meaning; hence it is a very important text. One realizes Dārila's scholarship even from the limited portion of the commentary that is available. Various passages from treatises such as the texts from the *Atharvaveda* tradition, other Vedic schools, Pāṇini, *Gautamadharmasūtra, Mīmāṁsāsūtra, Paiṭhīnasismṛti, Manusmṛti* etc. are quoted by him. Keśava, the author of the *paddhati*, cites a verse mentioning a common belief about Dārila's knowledge of the *Atharvaveda* tradition as follows:

कौशिको वत्सशर्मा च तत्प्रपौत्रश्च दारिलः । शास्त्रविज्ञानमेषां हि चतुर्थो नोपपद्यते ॥ [18]

There is hardly any historical information given by anybody about this commentator who is so well-praised. Moreover, Dārila himself does not give any information about his own family, place or date except for mentioning several times his great-grandfather's name with pride.[19] Thus, as there is no internal or external evidence about his place and time, one has to make a wild guess on this matter for the time being.

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18. Bahulkar reproduces this verse from KauP ms. from Varanasi (used with siglum *vā* in the edition), f. 145. The verse as it is is not metrical. In the KauP edition (p. 482), it is printed as कौशिको वत्सशर्मा च तस्य पुत्रोऽथ दारिलः । शास्त्रविज्ञानमेषां हि चतुर्थो नोपपद्यते ॥ Curiously, no variants have been reported here. In the introduction, p. xxi, the editors suggest an emendation तत्प्रपौत्रोऽथ *tha* for the printed reading तस्य पुत्रोऽथ *tha*, to make Keśava's statement fit with the colophon in the DB ms. quoted in its introduction. (Cf. p. x)

19. Cf. DB f. 22, 23, 73, 84, 101, 107, 128, 163.

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The late Dr. H.R. Diwekar has made a praiseworthy attempt in this regard. He has formulated some opinions after a long, thoughtful reflection on the subject. He read a paper in the 24th A.I.O.C. at Varanasi on this topic.[20] In the introduction of the DB edition also, he has provided some internal evidence leading to a plausible hypothesis. In this article, an attempt has been made to express thoughts about Dārila's date etc. by investigating Dr. Diwekar's opinions. Because no decisive statements can be made about Dārila, the main aim behind writing this article is to introduce this issue to the readers.

While thinking about Dārila's date, Dr. Diwekar has principally relied on Palaeography. According to him, commentator Dārila flourished in 7th or 8th century CE. Let us investigate his points in this regard. Diwekar's arguments have been summarized in the beginning paragraph of each point, followed by my comments on that argument.

1. The absence of *avagraha* or *dvikhaṇḍa* sign is a peculiar noticeable character of the DB ms. The *avagraha* is absent in the cases where usually it should be used. e.g. f. 1 l. 3: तस्मात् पदविवादगोत्र प्रथमं प्रतिरच्यते. The edited text is as follows: तस्मात् पदविभागोऽत्र प्रथमं प्रतिरच्यते. In this case, it becomes doubtful, due to the absence of the *avagraha*, whether the word *gotra* is present here and the case then becomes confusing for the readers. Diwekar's hypothesis is as follows: As the scribe does not use *avagraha* here, it must have been absent in the original ms. prepared at the time of Dārila. Had there been a custom of writing *avagraha*, used by the original scribe, that would have been continued in later instances as well. The reason why the original scribe did not use it is that there was no such custom prevalent in his times. Bühler, in his book 'Indian Palaeography' mentions that the *avagraha* sign is first found in a copper-plate issued by the Rāṣṭrakūtas in 834-35 CE) The *avagraha* sign must have been in practice at least a century prior to its use in the said copper-plate. The conclusion now follows that if it is true that this sign was not used in the original copy of the DB then that original copy

20. The paper is published as Diwekar 1976.

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could not have been written after 834 CE.[21] Obviously, Dārila's period would fall in the 7th century CE.

— It is not logical to imagine the practice of not writing the *avagraha* sign at the time of the original copy, i.e. the exemplar on the basis of its absence in the available ms. Even today, in the mss. of the texts composed in the last two to three hundred years, *avagraha* is not consistently used. The method of writing the text is not followed very meticulously. (This is evident by a cursory look at such mss.) Moreover, how can one expect this from a 'hired scribe' of the DB? A person who does not know Sanskrit may not understand the necessity of *avagraha*. Diwekar's view that 'this ms. of the DB is written by way of coordination of one reader-one scribe' will be discussed later on. If we assume that it is right, the scribe will not understand the presence of *avagraha* in the original ms. Thus, nothing can be conclusively stated about the presence or absence of *avagraha* in the original ms.

2. Diwekar's explanation about errant readings in the DB is that the original ms. was not written in the *Devanāgarī* script but in Later Gupta script which was prevalent at the time of the beginning stage of *Devanāgarī*. Thus, for copying that ms. into *Nāgarī,* there might have been an arrangement of one

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21. Cf. (1976: 53). Diwekar's precise statement is: "Palaeography records that this sign of *avagraha* was first found in an inscription of the year 834-35 A.D. It must have been current some time before it, sufficiently long, so as to appear in the copy before the inscriber of the copper-plate inscription mentioned above." In the first place, it seems by word 'Palaeography' in Diwekar's statement, Bahulkar understands Bühler 1904. It should be noted that such statement is not found in Bühler's 'Indian Palaeography'. Secondly, we do not find any Rāṣṭrakūṭa copper-plate inscription dated 834-35. (Cf. Deo 1984.) And most importantly, we do find *avagraha* in the Paithan copper-plate dated *Śaka Saṁvat* 716 (794 CE) issued by a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III. (Cf. E.I. 3.103.) Certainly, no claim is made here that this is the earliest occurrence of *avagraha.* In any case, as Bahulkar has rightly pointed out in his counter argument, the presence or absence of *avagraha* in the ms. cannot be considered as a decisive aid for fixing the date of the text.

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script-reader and one copyist. We find the word *putravidhi* where the word *padavidhi* is expected (f. 1, l. 4). We find *romanaḥ* where there should be *kramataḥ* (f. 1, l. 4). It is not probable to read *pu* for *pa* or *ro* for *kra* by mistake in Nāgarī script. But such mistake is possible in the Later Gupta script. According to Bühler, this script (Western variety of the Southern Alphabets) was prevalent in Kathiawad, Gujarat, West Maharashtra and Konkan between the 4th and the 9th century CE. But in the 9th century, it was replaced by Nāgarī.[22] The DB may have been written first in the Later Gupta script. This point about the script strengthens the argument that the period of the DB is 7th to 8th century CE.

— The arrangement of one script-reader and one copyist seems probable. In support of this, Diwekar gives an example in the DB (f. 15, l. 14). Here, *māṁsaṁ brāhmaṇam* is written for *māṁsaṁ bṛhaṇam*. Had the scribe himself read and copied the ms., this grave mistake would not have occurred. It is possible that this mistake has occurred due to the pronunciation of the (comparatively) unknown word *bṛhaṇam* as *brāhmaṇam*. The editors have read *putravidhi* as *sūtravidhi*, which seems more suitable. They read *romanaḥ* as *lokataḥ*. However, Diwekar's reading *kramataḥ* seems more correct. There is a chance of confusion between *kramataḥ* and *romanaḥ* in the Later Gupta script. Diwekar's argument regarding transcription seems possible.

3. The beginning of the DB is श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः । ओमेव हितः पुंसाम् and it ends with शुभं भवतु. In ancient times at the beginning of writing (not at the beginning of composition of the text), there was no custom of writing benedictions. Jaina writers started the custom of writing *siddham* in the beginning. This custom prevailed till the end of 4th century CE. The custom of writing *oṁ* or *om* is seen between 550 and 990 CE. The custom of writing श्रीगणेशाय नमः began after this period. Dārila must have commenced his treatise with ओमेव हितः पुंसाम् (i.e. with *om*). श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः । in the beginning, and similarly शुभं भवतु. at the end must have been the scribe's own benedictions. This point also suggests that Dārila must have flourished

22. Cf. Bühler (1904: 64-65).

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between 550 and 990 CE. [The arguments in this and in the next item are stated by Diwekar in his article prepared for the introduction of the DB. The article is unpublished and is in the custody of 'Diwekar Vāṅgmay Prakāśan Samitī' (Publication Committee for Diwekar's writings).]

— It is indeed not necessary to accept that श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्री सरस्वत्यै नमः are Dārila's benedictions. Assuming that Dārila made only ओमेव हितः पुंसाम् seems possible. This point may be considered for deciding the date.

4. While writing a verse, we place *daṇḍa* (a straight line) at the end of a hemistich and double *daṇḍa* (two straight lines) at the end of a verse. This systematic use of single and double *daṇḍa*s is seen after the 8th century CE. In the DB ms., everywhere we come across double *daṇḍa*s only (for instance, cf. f. 129). Due to this fact, it appears that the date of the DB is before 8th century CE.

— It is not proper to expect that the scribe of the DB will make a systematic use of single and double *daṇḍa*s. Therefore, this argument is not relevant for fixing the date.

5. Commentator Dārila employs some names in the acts of *Abhicāra.* One has to employ the names of persons against whom black magic is intended, in place of the words such as *asya, amuṣya, āmuṣyāyaṇa* etc. of the original *mantra.* (This is called *Ūha.*) The following *mantras* are employed in the *Abhicāra* acts —

1. फट् हतोऽसौ (KauśS 47.21)
2. इदमहमामुष्यायणस्य अमुष्याः पुत्रस्य प्राणापानौ अप्यायच्छामि (KauśS 47.22)
3. क्षिप्रं वै तस्याहनने गृध्राः कुर्वत ऐलबम् (ŚS 12.5.47)
4. अमुष्य त्वा प्राणाय गृह्णे ... (KauśS 3.15)

Dārila makes the *ūha* of these *mantras* in the following manner —

1. फट् हतो रामः (f. 130)
2. इदमहं रामस्य प्रच्छन्नायनस्य चेलमुखायाः पुत्रस्य प्राणापानौ अप्यायच्छामि (f. 130)
3. क्षिप्रं वै राज्यवर्धनस्याहनने गृध्राः कृर्वत ऐलबम् (f. 43)
4. राज्यवर्धनस्य त्वा प्राणाय गृह्णे ... (f. 22)

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Diwekar's view is that this Rājyavardhana is the elder brother of Harṣavardhana of the historically famous Vardhana dynasty. Śaśāṅka, the king of Bengal, assassinated Rājyavardhana. Is it possible that the reference to Rājyavardhana in the DB, is indicative of Rājyavardhana's murder by the king of Bengal through sorcery? (Bengal was well-known for sorcery.) If this is true, Dārila is Rājyavardhana's contemporary, i.e. he lived in the 7th century CE.[23] There is no historical evidence about Rāma or Akṣa.[24]

— It is just a possibility and not a fact that the Rājyavardhana mentioned here was a real historical figure Rājyavardhana. Moreover, was there no other Rājyavardhana in history so far? There was a king named Rājyavardhana in the Śaila dynasty and also names of the kings in this dynasty end with '*vardhana*'. This last-mentioned king Rājyavardhana was a son of Sauvardhana. Fourth Dharasena ascended the throne after him. His date is 8th century CE.[25] The aim to write this in details is to state that the reference to the name Rājyavardhana cannot be foolproof historical evidence. Consequently, it follows that it will not be proper to accept the killing of Rājyavardhana through sorcery as a historical fact, just because of his reference in a sorcery formula by Dārila. The same holds true for *Akṣa brāhmaṇāyana* and Rāma *pracchannāyana.* Is it anyway evident to say that they are historical figures? We should not overlook this possibility that these names might be imaginary.

6. Keśava, the author of the *paddhati*, त्रयाणामपि भाष्याणां सारं जग्राह केशवः.[26] These three commentators are Dārila, Rudra and Bhadra. Keśava is the name of great-grandfather of Keśava, the author of the *paddhati*. According to Diwekar, this Keśava (the grandfather) studied the texts of the three commentators, according to the half verse quoted above. Thus, Dārila must

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23. Cf. Diwekar (1976: 55).
24. The reference to this *Akṣa* is in the *ūha* of the formula in KauśS 44.31, इदमहमामुष्यायणस्य अमुष्याः पुत्रस्य प्राणापानौ अपकृन्तामि. The *ūha* is इदमहमक्षब्राह्मणायनपौत्रस्य वेच्चिकापुत्रस्य प्राणापानौ अपकृन्तामि. (f. 123)
25. Cf. Paul (1937: 376).
26. Cf. KauP. p. 483.

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have flourished before him. It is clear from some of his statements that Keśava, the author of the *paddhati* was a contemporary of Paramāra Bhoja. Thus, his period comes to the 11th century CE. His great-grandfather must have lived (one century) before and Dārila must have lived (two centuries) before this Keśava. This point also suggests that Dārila's period is 7th or 8th century CE.[27]

— Diwekar's interpretation of Keśava's verse makes the simple meaning complicated. Keśava speaks of himself when he says त्रयाणामपि भाष्याणां सारं जग्राह केशवः. The references of these three commentators are found passim in the KauP. This verse is not useful to prove that Dārila lived before Keśava's great-grandfather. (In fact, Keśava is the name of the grandfather and not of the great-grandfather!)

This is how, Diwekar has dealt with Dārila's date. Some arguments (items 2 and 3) could be taken into consideration as internal evidence. If we assume that (or if turns out that) the evidence is trustworthy, then it is possible to accept Dārila's date to 8th century CE.

Only this much can be stated from the external evidence that Dārila lived before Keśava, i.e. before 11th century CE. Dārila does not mention the commentators, Rudra and Bhadra. If these commentaries would have been composed before Dārila, a persevering commentator like Dārila would have certainly referred to them. He refers at times to his predecessors (such as Vatsaśarman, Paiṭhīnasi etc.). Rudra and Bhadra must have followed after Dārila. Unfortunately, their commentaries are not available today. If their dates are supposed to be approximately one century later each, then it can be assumed that Dārila, Rudra-Bhadra and Keśava must have lived in 8th, 9-10th and 11th century CE. respectively. Of course, this is just a guess. If the treatises by Vatsaśarman or especially Paithīnasi become available or if trustworthy information about their dates comes to light, then it is possible to fix the upper limit of Dārila's date.

Now, let us discuss Dārila's place. Diwekar has discussed only a few points regarding this topic. In the DB, we come across names of the plants such as *Apṭā*,

27. Cf. Diwekar (1976: 54).

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Avaḷī, Aḍoḷasā, which are known in Maharashtra. Similarly, we find the use of syllable *'ḷa'*. People residing to the north of Vindhya mountain range do not use *'ḷa'*. From this Diwekar concludes that the exemplar of the DB was not written in Northern Script. It was written in a region in which Marathi language and South Indian Script was prevalent.[28] Diwekar's reasoning does not appear logical. It can be concluded from the Maharashtrian names such as *Apṭā, Avaḷī* etc. and the existence of *'ḷa'* in the available copy, that this copy of the text was written in the region where Marathi was prevalent or the copyist was a Marathi-speaker. The two copies available to Bloomfield are the copies of the exemplar. It can be concluded from this that the exemplar had the same characteristics. The names such as Apṭā, Avaḷī are not used by the commentator but are given (in the margin) by someone using the commentary. It is more probable that the later copyist might have included these in the original text. In this way, it is possible that this is a case of interpolation. [One ms. for the KauP has been obtained in Gwalior from a Maharashtrian *Atharvavedin* named Gore.[29] In this ms., we find Marathi words such as *bhikāḷalāḍu* etc. in the margin.] For instance, in the DB, f. 41, several synonyms are given for plants in the KauśS: वशा वृषकः आडोळसा । तलाशा आमलकी आवळी प्रसिद्धा etc. In this case, *Vāśā, Talāśā* are the names given in the KauśS and we also find their Sanskrit synonyms *Vṛṣaka* and *Āmalakī*. Naturally, Dārila would conclude his explanation by giving Sanskrit synonyms (which would suffice for understanding). It does not seem probable that Dārila paraphrases with *deśī* synonyms such as *Aḍoḷasā, Avaḷī* etc. (It appears from the Lexical works such as *Āyurvedīya Nighaṇṭu* etc. that *deśī* synonyms are given to explain unfamiliar Sanskrit names.) In short, these Marathi names do not shed light on the issue of Dārila's place.

However, there is a scope for conclusion based on other evidence in this respect. Dārila gives explanations of the plants by giving their synonyms and the region of their availability. In this case we should take into account human tendency. If a particular plant is readily available in Maharashtra, a person residing in

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28. Cf. Diwekar (1976: 57).
29. Cf. KauP. Introduction, p. x, for more information about this ms. with siglum *ga* used for the edition.

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Maharashtra will just say that the plant is available in Maharashtra and will not explain further its habitat. If the plant is available in a far away region, then a person will refer to that region. If a particular plant is found in a particular village only, then will specifically mention the name of that village. Of course, he should have an association with that place. We will consider the references made by Dārila in this connection in this light. Dārila refers to the following regions: Himavat, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Ānarta, Mālava and Surāṣṭra. All these regions are in North India, in the North-western regions, to be precise. Thus, we may naturally conclude from this that Dārila hailed from a region somewhere around Ānarta (Kathiawad), Mālava and Surāṣṭra. Moreover, it is interesting that Dārila refers to a single village, Ānandapura (f. 41): शमका आनन्दपुरे वारिपृष्ठो जाता वरणप्रसिद्धा. Śamakā is probably Śamikā, mentioned as such in the *Nighaṇṭuratnākara.* The Marathi name is 'Thorśamī' or 'savandaḍ'.[30] (While Śamī is called Laghuśamī.)[31] The peculiarity of Śamī is that it grows where ground water is available. [Cf. *Śārṅgadharapaddhati,* Vol. 1] Thus, Dārila's statement can be interpreted as meaning that the Śamakā plant grows in Ānandapura, at Varaṇa where ground water is available. [Probably, Varaṇa might be a place in Hāṭakeśvara in Ānandapura. Dārila mentions the name again at f. 41 l. 16-17 as "चित्तिः प्रायश्चितिः वरणे च सिद्धभूमस्थनर्तुले प्रसिद्धे." The holy place named Siddheśvara was there in Hāṭakeśvara. Is is possible to identify Siddhabhūmi as this place?] Dārila must have been very familiar with Ānandapura as he refers to it in this particular manner.[32]

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30. The botanical name of the plant is *Porsopis spicigera.* For more information, cf. Indian Medicinal Plants. Vol. 2 pp. 910-13.
31. The botanical name of the plant is *Mimosa Suma Roxb.* or *Acasia suma.* For more information, cf. Indian Medicinal Plants. Vol. 2 p. 935.
32. However, it appears to me that the plant mentioned as *Śamakā* in the KauśS 8.16 cannot be convincingly identified as *Porsopis spicigera.* There is a possibility that this plant is *Neptunia oleracea* (commonly known as *Lājālu* or *Pāṇilājaka*) from the same plant family. (Cf. Indian Medicinal Plants. Vol. 2 p. 904.) It looks like Śamī due to its similar leaves. It is quite possible that as it is a small herb, it is called *Śamakā* or *Śamikā* (as in *Nighaṇṭuratnākara*). The distribution of this plant covers all of India and Sri Lanka. It should also be noted that Dārila

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The name Ānandapura is historically significant. Another name of the place is Ānartapura and it is famous from ancient times as a holy place of God Hāṭakeśvara. This ancient Ānandapura is modern Vadnagar in Gujarat. The Vaḍanagara *Nāgara śākhā* of Gujarati *Nāgara* brahmins hails from Ānandapura and their family deity is Hāṭakeśvara. Is it probable that Dārila hailed from this Ānandapura? There were brahmins from all the four *Vedaśākhās* amongst Vaḍanagara *Nāgaras*. They believed themselves to be the greatest of brahmins and used to serve the kings as their priests. [Cf. *Prācīna Bhāratiyā Sthalakośa*, Vol. 1, Pune 1969.][33] It becomes clear from epigraphic evidence that *Atharvavedin* brahmin priests got village-grants from the kings. Some *Atharvavedins* from Ānandapura migrated to other places later on.[34] Gujarat is known for the *Atharvaveda Śaunaka śākhā*. Usually, *Nāgara* brahmins belong to the *Śaunaka śākhā* and *Audīcya* brahmins call themselves the *Paippalādins*. But actually they study only the *Śaunaka* recension.[35] From all this evidence only this much can be stated that Dārila prevailed in 8th century CE in Gujarat. Probably, he had some connection with Ānandapura. However, nothing can be stated about the

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mentions this plant as growing in water tanks. In this case, Dārila's words *vāriprṣṭhato jātā* could easily be taken directly. Perhaps there is no need to accept Bahulkar's interpretation of *vāriprṣṭhato jātā* as a plant growing in the region having ground water. Further investigation is necessary in this regard before claiming any identification of this plant. A significant portion of Bahulkar's argument is based on the habitat of a plant whose identification is not confirmed.

33. Also on Ānandapura, cf. Sandesara 1969, Dey 1979, Law 1984 and Bhattacharyya 1991.
34. Cf. Diskalkar (1959-60: 77ff).
35. Bahulkar obtained this information in the *Atharvaveda Pāṭhaśālā* in Sinor (Gujarat) run by the well-known *Atharvavedin* Vāsudevaśāstrī Pancholī. For other mentions of *Atharvavedin* brahmins claiming themselves to be *Paippalādins* but learning the *Śaunaka* recension in practice, cf. Renou (1950: 217) and Diskalkar (1959-60: 81).

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issue whether he actually hailed from that place or he was a Vaḍanagara brahmin from Ānandapura.[36]

Appendix:

The name Dārila is very peculiar. Usually, the names ending with 'la' appear southern. Thus, someone might think that Dārila was from South. But it is clear from the discussion above that it is not probable that Dārila was a southerner. It is clear from the historical evidence that the names ending with *'la'*, *'ila'* and *'illa'* were common in Gujarat as well. Sankalia has classified Gujarati names.[37] Here we find names ending with *'illa'*.[38] We find the names of the AV brahmins as Śaṁbhula, Dattila etc. in the inscriptions found in Gujarat.[39]

We may take into consideration another aid while discussing Dārila's place. Dārila uses some non-customary words. Apparently they look like Sanskrit words. But it seems that they are rather Sanskritisations of *deśī* words. Many such words are used as synonyms of plant-names. Perhaps we can use *Āyurvedīya Nighaṇṭu* for their identification.

Some of the examples of such plant-names are noted below:

1. जङ्गिडः अर्जुनः । अचल इति दाक्षिणात्याः / (f. 41, l. 10)

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36. It appears that Witzel has studied this point further. Meulenbeld (2003-04: 293-94) reports Witzel's opinion that Ānandapura or Ānarta and its environs have probably been Dārila's homeland, since the countries known to him center around this city. Northern India and the Himalayas are not known to him. The *Galābala* tree (f. 41, l. 11) is called not well-known and the same applies to *Bhaṅgā* (f. 55, l. 9). *Jaṅgiḍa* is called *Acala* by the Southerners (f. 41, l. 10). Furthermore, the name Ānarta seems to be used until about 1000 CE. According to Rajyogar (1982: 108), the name Ānarta was no longer used used since the reign of Mūladeva of the Chalukya dynasty, who reigned in the second half of the tenth century.

37 Cf. Sankalia 1949.

38 Cf. Sankalia (1949: 115, 119).

39 Cf. Sankalia 1949, Appendix IV. pp. 205-245.

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2. शिम्बलं जोषणम् । विलेभ इति आनर्ताः । शाल्मलिः कटण्टकः (इति) अग्निस्वामी / (f. 41, l. 11)
3. खजस्तु आरालिकेति प्रसिद्धः / (f. 102, l. 2)
4. केर केरापर्णीति सुराष्ट्रेषु वारिकेति मालवेषु / (f. 110, l. 16)
5. केशानी प्रसारिणीत्युच्यते / उलक्किलन्नेषु प्रायेण जायते / (f. 111, ll. 2-3)
6. बृहती पलाशविदारी वेला पलाशका इति प्रसिद्धा / (f. 105, ll. 2-3)
7. शमीफलं गुरोळकः / (f. 98, l. 11)
8. भाङ्गा हिमवति तदभिधानमेव / चम्पकेत्यपरे / (f. 55, ll. 9-10)
9. खक्त्यस्तिलकः / (f. 112, l. 13)
10. तिलकुरुलकः / (f. 90, l. 21)
11. रजनी मेचिकाः / (f. 89, l. 7)
12. असिक्नि तिमिरका / (f. 89, l. 7)
13. बाणापर्णी शरपुङ्खेति प्रसिद्धा / (f. 108, ll. 8-9)
14. उपोलवणानि मालवेषु प्रसिद्धानि / मुदितोद्यास इति आनर्ताः / (f. 67, l. 15)
15. शीर्षपर्णिका शीर्षंकरीति प्रसिद्धा / (f. 98, l. 11)

Some *deśī* words are as follows:

1. अजालेण्डिका / (f. 135, l. 7)
2. अरलुकः / (f. 119, l. 20)
3. कधुः तुट्टिकेति प्रसिद्धः / (f. 135, l. 1)
4. इण्डः ओडेकः /(f. 135, l. 2)
5. उच्छुष्मा कपिकच्छुः / (f. 115, l. 13)
6. गृहकोलिकः कोलियकः / (f. 75, ll. 6-7)
7. कृशः गोमेणक इति प्रसिद्धाभिधानः कृष्णवर्णो दीर्घपुच्छवांश्च / (f. 46, l. 5)
8. गेन्दुकः / (f. 101, l. 16)
9. अलं गोधुमव्याधिः / (f. 85, l. 21)
10. चमूः चरकी डिम्बिका / (f. 133, l. 15)
11. वादित्राणि भेरिमृदङ्गझल्लरिकादीनि / (f. 53, l. 19)
12. इतिः पेटकः दुहक इति यावत् / (f. 63, l. 12)
13. किक्षुरुः बृसीकशेरुः (f. 110, l. 11)

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14. मत्सिका / (f. 93, l. 1)

15. लोटकः / (f. 121, l. 1)

This list will be useful for further investigation.

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KauP= *Keśava's Kauśikapaddhati*

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KauśS=*Kauśikasūtra*

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JAIN SANSKRIT DRAMATISTS OF GUJARAT

Sharmila Bagchi*

Abstract: The religious sects in India dominated Indian literature, philosophy, art & culture whenever they had prominence in the related regions and were promoted by the rulers of those regions. Most of the Sanskrit dramas written during 11th to 14th century in Gujarat clearly show the great influence of Jain-religion on society since the ruling bodies of Gujarat were either Jain or converted to Jainism. The Solanki age (942-1243/1300) is considered as golden age for Gujarat in all fields of society. The kings *Siddharāja* Jaisingh (1094-1143) & Kumārapāla (1142-1173) promoted art and literature to their best (Kantawala S C, 1997, 54).

The father of Prakrit grammar and doyen of Sanskrit language & poetics Hemacandrasūri/Hemacandrācārya (1088-1172) was a Jain monk whose glorious pupils who were mostly Jain-monks, created some remarkable Sanskrit *Nāṭakas* & *Prakaraṇas* and thus popularised the *Upa-rūpaka* tradition in Sanskrit literature.

This article talks about some of the Jain Sanskrit dramatists of Gujarat in short.

Keywords: Hemacandrasūri, Aṇahilapura Pāṭan, Rāmacandrasūri, *Prakaraṇa,* Jaisimhasūri, Yaśaspāla, Devacandrasūri, Rāmabhadrasūri, Yaśascandra, Bālacandrasūri, Vijayapāla.

Introduction

The beginning of Sanskrit Drama composition in Gujarat is confirmed by Bilhaṇa's *Karṇasundarī* (11th century). Some literary evidences suggest it started with Śīlācārya in 8th century with his play *Vibudhānanda* which is extinct now. Though Bilhaṇa was a native of Kashmir but he was on a tour of India and reached Gujarat in later part of 11th century. Aṇahilapaṭṭan (now known as Pāṭaṇa) - the capital of Gujarat, was ruled by Karṇarāja - son of Bhīmadeva of

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Chālukya dynasty. According to Prof. Nanavati (1997, p. IX), it was probably written in 1080-1090 in Aṇahilapura - Pāṭaṇa. After *Karṇasundarī* (semi-historical), we find a series of Sanskrit drama writers who wrote Sanskrit plays[1] on the lines of established famous Sanskrit dramatists from other parts of India or historical plots based on Gujarat (mostly). Most of them were Jain monks. Drama-composition became an important medium to reach people for propagating their religious beliefs. Dramatists like Rāmacandra Sūri, Yaśapāla, Jaisinghsūri, Yaśascandra, Bālacandra, Rāmabhadramuni made important contribution to Sanskrit literature as well as to Jain religion.

Contribution of Jain monks of Gujarat to Sanskrit language was led by Hemcandrācārya (1088-1172 AD) who was also called कलिकालसर्वज्ञ. Though not directly involved with Sanskrit dramas, but, Muni Hemcandrācārya contributed to this stream of Sanskrit literature too greatly. His disciples especially Rāmacandra who did a great service to Sanskrit drama by authoring 100 Sanskrit works as he was called *Prabandha-śatakāra* (प्रबन्ध शतकार) (Tripathi Ramasagar,1994, 367) of which 10 dramas are available now. He was not only a scholar but deemed to be a historian also. A contemporary of Solankis, Jaisingh and Kumārapāla, he provided authentic historical records of that time in his *Dvayāśraya mahākāvya*[2]. We all know about Hemacandra and his scholarly works. His *Siddha Hemaśabdānusāsana* (grammar), *Dvyāśraya* (*Mahākāvya*), *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, Deśīnāmamālā* and *Nighaṇṭu* (dictionaries and encyclopedias), *Kāvyānuśāsana* (poetics), *Chandānuśāsana* (prosody), *Pramāṇamīmāmsā* (*mīmāmsā*), *Yogaśāstra* (*yoga*), *Vītarāgastuti, Triṣaṣṭi Śalākāpuruṣa* are known to the students of Sanskrit literature. He was the spiritual preceptor of King Kumārapāla (1142-1173 AD). Before Kumārapāla, he had an easy access in the court of Siddharāja Jaisingh (1094-1143 AD) of Solanki dynasty. Many of his works were either written to appease the king Siddharāja Jaisingh or on his or Kumārapāl's behest (request). He was born in *Samvat* 1145 in Dhandhuka (Distt. Ahmedabad) and died in *Samvat* 1229 at the age of 84 (*Moharājaparājaya,*Intro - p.XIII). He was initiated in the order in *Samvat* 1154.

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1. According to Prof. Nanavati, there are 108 Sanskrit dramas composed in Gujarat since 11th century to 1987 and 13 Jain Sanskrit dramatists contributed 25 Sanskrit dramas from 9th century to16th century . - *Op. cit.*, pp. 297-306
2. *Dvayāśraya mahākāvya ṭīkā* (part 1-2), Mumbai 1915, 1921, p. 167.

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Historical background

It is a notable fact that all Jain Sanskrit dramatists flourished from 11th century. In fact Sanskrit drama itself bloomed in Gujarat in 11th century during the rule of Solanki king Jaisingh who was known as *Siddharāja* nee *Siddhacakravartī* after his great win of Sorath in V.S. 1170. He encouraged Hemacandra to compose *Śabdānuśāsana* and provided him all material to compose the work (Parikh,1976, 51). Scholars like Hemacandra, Rāmacandra, Śrīpāla, Vāgbhaṭṭa, Jayamaṅgala, Yaśascandra, Vardhamānasūri, Sāgaracandra were given patronage by him.

Started with *Karṇasundarī* of Bilhaṇa, *Hammiramadamardana* of Jayasimha Sūri, *Mudritakumudacandra* of *Yaśascandra, Mānamudrābhanjana* of Devacandrasūri, *Mithyājñānakhaṇḍana* of Ravidāsa, *Moharājaparājaya* of Yaśaspāla are some of them to name as historical plays.

The basic rule of Sanskrit drama about the story-line i.e. *Kathāvastu* is that it should be *Prakhyāta* i.e. famous or known to the people. Basically the stories for Sanskrit dramas were adopted from Purāṇas, *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa* or some famous mythological stories to make the hero a divine person[3]. Later on some famous person or dynasties' history were also adopted as plots like *Mālavikāgnimitra, Mudrārākṣasa, Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī* and others were composed to show the hero a mortal person. Gujarat's Sanskrit dramatists not only adopted contemporary historical events as plots for their dramas but they tried other dramatic forms of *Rūpaka* - drama to express their creativity. Among them *Prakaraṇa*[4] and *Vyāyoga*[5] were their favorites as they could select heroes from common man (not of royal lineage)[6] or describe about wars or simple clashes of the society.

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3. प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयं प्रख्यातोदात्तनायकं चैव ।
राजर्षिवंश्यचरितं तथैव दिव्याश्रयोपेतम् ॥ ना. शा. 18/10 ॥
4. शृङ्गारोऽङ्गी नायकस्तु विप्रोऽमात्योऽथवा वणिक् ।
सापायधर्मकामार्थपरो धीरप्रशान्तकः ॥ साहित्यदर्पण. 6/225
5. न च दिव्यनायक कृतः कार्यो राजर्षिनायक निबद्धः । ना. शा. 18/92 ॥
अदिव्यभूपतिस्वामी व्यायोगो नायिकां विना । नाट्यदर्पण 2/10 ॥
6. नोदात्तनायककृतं दिव्यचरितं न राजसंभोगः ॥ ना. शा. 18/49 ॥

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Jain Sanskrit Dramatists

The first among the Jain Sanskrit Dramatists is Rāmacandrasūri, chronologically as well as his large share of contribution to Sanskrit dramas.

Rāmacandrasūri (1145-1229)

Rāmacandra was *Paṭṭaśiṣya* of Hemacandrasūri. Hemacandra declared him his successor in presence of Siddharāja Jaisingh -

कल्पद्रुमसमे राज्ञि त्वयीदृशी कृतस्थितौ
अस्त्यामुष्यायणो रामचन्द्राख्यः कृतिशेखरः ।

प्राप्तरेखः प्राप्तरूपः संघे विश्वकलानिधिः
अन्यदाऽदर्शयंस्तेऽमुं क्षितिपस्य स्तुतिं च सः ॥ (*प्रभावकचरित,* 134, 135, p. 381)

He was bestowed upon the title of कविकटारमल्ल (*Kavikaṭāramalla*) by Siddharāja for his instant-poetic-talent (आशुकवित्वं)-

तुष्टेन सर्वसमक्षं कविकटारमल्ल इति विरुदं दत्तम् । (रत्नमन्दिरगणिकृत उपदेशतरङ्गिणी, p. 62)

A prolific writer, he composed 100 texts. His 10 dramas namely *Satyahariścandra, Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga, Kaumudimitranandam, Nalavilāsa, Mallikāmakaranda, Raghuvilāsa, Yaduvilāsa, Rohiṇimṛgānkaprakaraṇa, Yādavābhyudaya* and *Vanamālā,* demonstrate his deep knowledge of *Nāṭyaśāstra* and *Mahābhārata.* Among these plays, *Nalavilāsa* was published by Oriental Institute in its GOS as No.29 in the year 1926 as Golden Jubilee felicitation issue in comemoration of Maharaja Sayajirao's rule. Unlike his successors, he adopted the *paurāṇika* stories as the themes of his plays. He specifically wrote *Prakaraṇa* and *Vyāyoga* to promote other *Nāṭya* forms of *rūpaka.* He wrote *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* - an exemplary text on *Nāṭyaśāstra,* with fellow disciple of Hemacandra named Guṇacandra. *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* is different in a way as it establishes original theories differing Bharata and Dhanañjaya. A brief sketch of three of his dramas is given here -

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Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga - Most of the Sanskrit *Vyāyoga*[7] *rūpakas* have their plots taken from *Mahābharata* stories since there are plenty episodes of confrontation other than the great war. In this play, the episode of Bhīma - the second Pāṇḍava, killing Bakāsura - a cannibal demon, who terrifies the natives of Ekacakranagarī, is adopted from *Mahābhārata* only (*Mahābhārata, Ādiparva, Adh.*145-152, 201-209)

Nalavilāsanāṭaka - It is a drama of 7 *Ankas* - Acts. The famous story of Nala-Damyantī, mentioned in *Mahābhārata* is dramatized here. Nala - the king of Vidarbha, gets attracted to Damayantī after seeing her picture. He goes to her *svayamvara* to marry her. After marriage, Nala loses his kingdom in gambling and goes to forest with Damayantī where he leaves her in her sleep. Heart-broken Damayantī comes back to her father who decides to get her marry again. Cursed by his ancestor, Nala loses his beautiful body and takes the job of a cook by the name of Bāhuka. When some *Muni* announces the news of Nala's death in Kundinpur where Damayantī is getting ready to remarry, she decides to self-immolate and saved by Nala who regains his memory and physical form. And thus the drama ends in their reunion.

Mallikāmakaranda - Perplexed with magical powers and unbelievable incidents, this play has got an important place in *Prakaraṇa* literature. The love-story of Mallikā and Makarand is expanded in 6 *ankas*. It carries all the characteristics of *Prakaraṇa* as quoted by other *Nāṭyaśāstrīs* and the author himself in *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[8]. In the beginning of the story, heroine Mallikā tries to commit suicide by hanging herself and saved by the hero Makaranda. Both fall in love immediately. Makarand is appointed as bodyguard of Mallikā by her foster father

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7. स्यादेतिवृत्ते ख्यातेऽस्य: स्यादोद्धतनरा अपि: ॥60॥
हीनो गर्भविमर्शाभ्यां दीप्तः स्युर्ङिमवद्रसाः ।
अस्त्रीनिमित्तसंग्रामो जयदत्तवधे यथा ॥61॥
एकाङ्कादिरिहाङ्गी स्यादेगो बहुभिर्मतैः । -धनञ्जयकृत दशरूपक, सं गौरीशंकर व्यास, चौखम्भा विद्याभवन, वाराणसी, तृतीय प्रकाश.

8. *Nāṭyaśāstra* (NS): 18/96-98; *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (SD): 6/225 ; *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (ND): 2/1-2.

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as someone has predicted (in the letter tied to the head of the child who was lying under a tree in the forest) that after 16 years (date also mentioned), he will kidnap her by killing her husband and guard. Despite Makaranda's assurance, some invisible force takes away Mallikā. Later it was known that it was the original mother of Mallikā who takes her away to get her married to another prince of her choice. After many dramatic and magical incidents, Mallikā and Makaranda unite.

Jaisimhasūri (12th century)

Jaisimhasūri was a member of the *Vidyāmaṇḍala* of Vastupāla of Dholakā. He was a disciple of Vīrasūri and Ācārya (head?) of temple Suvratacaitya at Bhṛgukaccha (Bharuch). He composed a historical play *'Hammīramadamardana'* (five act) in somewhere between 1219-1229 AD, on the incidence of King Vīradhavala defeating a Mughal king Hammīra or rather an Amir (not father of Akbar) who invaded Gujarat.

Hammīramadamardana - A drama of 5 *ankas*, it has got contemporary historical *Kathānaka*. Written in 13th century, it is about the conquer of king Vīradhavala on *Hammira* which means - *Amira* (a king) in Arabic. This play glorifies the two minister brothers - Vastupāla and Tejapāla (especially Vastupāla) and their king Vīradhavala. By the intelligence of Vastupāla, the king defeats *Turuska* Hammira. The character of Vastupāla seems to be inspired by Cāṇakya of *Mudrārākṣasa*. The best part of the story is that without fighting a war at battlefield, the king of Dholakā defeats Sangrāma Singh, Simhala and Hammira by the wisdom of Tejpāla.

This play was enacted in Khambat on occasion of the festival of *Bhīmeśvaradeva yātrā* under the orders Jayantasimha- son of Vastupāla (*Prastāvanā* of the play). This play as published by Oriental Institute's GOS No. 10, edited by C.D.Dalal in 1920 for the first time.

Yaśaspāla (13th century)

Yaśahpāla or Yaśaspāla was son of Dhanadeva and Rukmiṇī belonging to *Modha Baniā* cast. He was a staunch Jain but not a monk it seems. He composed only one drama named *'Moharājaparājaya'* (in five acts) an allegorical drama describing

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the overcoming of King Moha (temptation) or the conversion of Kumārapāla, the Chaulukya king - father of Ajayapāla, of Gujarat to Jainism. He served the court of Ajayapāla (1229-1232 AD)[9]. The drama was enacted on the occasion of *Sthāpanā* of Mahāvīra's idol at Kumāravihāra (the temple erected by Kumārapāla himself) at Tharapadrapura (*Moharājaparājayam,* Intro). It was first published by Oriental Institute in GOS as No. 9 in the year 1918.

Devacandrasūri (13th century)

Devacandra was a pupil of Hemacandra. In the court of King Kumārapāla, he wrote the play *Candralekhāvijaya prakaraṇa* of five acts which was enacted at the spring festival of Ajītanātha. Another composition *Mānamudrābhanjanam* or *Vilāsavatī* is again a play *(Prakaraṇa).* He was a contemporary of Rāmacandrasūri.

Rāmabhadrasūri (13th century)

He was a Jain monk known as Rāma, was a disciple of Jayaprabhasūri. His play *Prabuddharohiṇeya* - a *Prakaraṇa* of six acts, was enacted at the festival of Śriyugādideva *(Prabuddharohineyam, Prastavana* p. 3*)* in a temple constructed by Chahamana chief - Yaśovīra and Ajayapāla. Krishnamachariyar fixes his time as last quarter of thirteen century (1937, 648). Though in *Svādhyāya* special issue of the seminar *Gujarātnu Sanskrit Rūpako Kṣetre Pradāna,* shows him belonging to 12th century AD (p.298).

Yaśascandra (13th century)

Yaśascandra was also a non-monk *'gṛhastha'* Jain dramatist who was a pupil of Hemcandrācārya. His play *(Prakaraṇa* of five *ankas) Mudritakumudacandra* is a historical as well as religious play. It was written to prove the supremacy of *Śvetāmbara* sect on *Digambar* sect by depicting the *Śāstrārtha* of Devacandrasūri (Guru of Hemcandrācārya - a *Śvetāmbara;* VS 1143-1226) a native of Gujarat and Kumudacandra, a native of Karnataka and *Digambar* follower. The *Śāstrārtha* was held in Karnāvat (present Ahmedabad).

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9. Prof. Wadekar opines that C. D. Dalal (in Intro of *Moharājāparajaya* -a GOS publication of 1918) has mistaken in establishing the reigning time of Ajayapāla, which should be 1172- 1176 CE. - *Svādhyāya...* p. 112.

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Bālacandrasūri (13th century)

The only available drama of Bālacandrasuri is named *Karuṇāvajrāyudha* (1916 प्रास्ताविक) which was published in 1916 and edited by Caturvijayamuni. Bālacandra, was a disciple of Haribhadrasūri. That is what he says in the beginning of the drama (p.4). He was a native of Modhera and belonged to *Modha* Brahmin community (Sandesara, 1958, 19). He was given the title of *Kavicūḍāmaṇi* by the *Mahamantrī* Vastupāla -

प्रस्तुतवृत्या तु समादिष्टोऽस्मि तेनाष्टमीच्चद्रविशालभालेन श्रीमता वस्तुपालेन । (p. 3, *Prastāvanā*)

The play *Karuṇāvajrāyudha* is inspired by the story of Śibi and pigeon that is mentioned in Purāṇa. In place of Śibi, there is king Vajrāyudha and the play is marked with Jain religion's quotations. He wrote a *Mahākāvya* named *Vasantavilāsa* also where he mentioned the death of Vastupāla which means he survived after *Samvat* 1296 (1239 AD). He is said to be an opponent of Rāmcandrasūri (1926, Intro p. 24).

Vijayapāla (13th Century)

Vijayapāla was a court-poet of Bhīmadeva II of Anahilpur (Patan) whose time is said to be of VS 1234-1298 (1177-1241AD). His ancestors Siddhapāla and Śrīpāla were also Royal-court-poet who were honoured by their patrons. Vijayapāla was a religious Jain-*baniā*. He composed one drama *Draupadīsvayamvara* of two acts. This drama was presented on occasion of *vasantotsava* (spring festival) by the orders of the king (*Draupadīsvayamvara, 1918, Prastāvanā, p. 4*).

Conclusion

After 13th century, we do not find any important Jain Sanskrit drama works. May be by the time *Prākṛta* and *Gujarāti* acquired the place of expression language of the masses as well as scholar class. We observe some specific characteristics of the Jain Sanskrit dramas of these 12th & 13th century plays-

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1. Most of the Jain dramas were *Parakaraṇa* or *Vyāyoga*. It is notable that a lot of other forms of *rūpaka* but *nāṭaka*, were written in Gujarat. Specially the above two mentioned here. These types of drama forms give authors freedom to create stories on their own, making them contemporary /modern.

2. Many of them are based on historical incidences related with the ruling king. That way they are historical. Often they were written to please their patron kings and they were enacted in the presence of that patron or his relatives. Few were based on *Mahābhārata* or other *paurāṇika* stories. Maybe because *Prakaraṇa* does not need any divine character like *Nāṭaka* and *Vyāyogaś* story should be *khyāta*.

3. Most of them were staged on some religious (Jain) occasion.

4. The propagation of Jain religion was a motive to compose these plays since they were written by Jain seers. These seers were patronized by mostly Chaulukyas. The ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, whole heartedly encouraged literary activities during their life-time.

5. Most of these dramas were composed by the scholars of Vastupāla's *Vidyāmaṇḍala* scholars.

These plays represent a society following established flourishing Jain religion which was patronized by the kings. The rule of Solankies and Chaulukyas is considered as golden age of literature and culture in Gujarat. The contribution of Jain Sanskrit scholars of Gujarat to all the streams of the language is highly commendable.

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JÑĀNAPRABODHAMAÑJARĪ: AN UNPUBLISHED *ADVAITA-VEDĀNTA* TEXT

Somnath Sarkar*

Abstract: The growth of literature on *Advaita-Vedānta* can be treated in relation to the following periods — ancient, mediaeval and the late mediaeval and the present one. Of these the former extends upto the times of Śrī Śaṃkarācārya and his contemporaries. The late mediaeval period is the high time of the composition of the primary texts of *Vedānta* and the *prakaraṇa-grantha*. A *prakaraṇa* type of texts or works aims at expounding and illustrating are section of particular *śāstra* or scientific literature of the subject, as it has been so explained by the experts. In this research article one of such *prakaraṇa* text that is edited critically. The text is *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī* sometimes ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya

Keywords: *Advaita-Vedānta*, Primary texts, *Prakaraṇa*-text, Critical edition, Higher criticism, Critical apparatus.

Advaita-Vedānta is the pinnacle of Indian thought and Sanskrit texts dealing with *Advaita-Vedānta* are the crest jewel of Sanskrit literature. *Advaita-Vedānta*, according to many scholars, is the most logical system of Indian Philosophy. It has a long history beginning with *Gauḍapādakārikā* (7th century) and ending with Madhusūdana-Sarasvatī's *Advaitasiddhi*. The *Advaita* literature is vast. Some books are expository, some are polemic and some others are answers to the opponents' criticisms. Besides these important texts there are so many so called minor texts of *Advaita-Vedānta*. Since *Vedānta* philosophy is ultimately rooted in the *Upaniṣad*s, so the minor texts are also related to the nectar of the *Upaniṣad* and arguments which conform to these texts. The text on *Advaita-Vedānta* theories and epistemology in Sanskrit is called *Prakaraṇa Grantha*. A *prakaraṇa*

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text or work aims at expounding and illustrating are section of particular *Śāstra* or scientific literature of the subject, as it has been so explained by the experts. In this research article one of such *prakaraṇa* that is edited critically. The text is *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī* which is sometimes ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya.

The JPM and its mss

The *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī* (JPM) is an yet unpublished text of *Advaita-Vedānta*, one manuscript of which is available in the Asiatic Society, Kolkata, bearing the accession number IM 1554.

There is no date, author's name and scribe's name in the colophon of this manuscript. So, at first the *Catalogus Catalogorum* (CC) by Theodor Aufrecht (*cf.* p. 210) has been consulted for searching the mss. of the text. The entry of JPM here gives some information as noted below:

> *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī* — *Vedānta*. Hall p. 111; B. 2.54. Ben. 80.

Thereafter the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC) (vol. 7; p. 330) has been consulted. It records —

> *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī*: adv. B. IV. 54 (2mss.); Baroda 11702; Ben. 80; BORI 355 of 1895-192; IM 1554; SB. 409; TD 7666-67.

Both CC and NCC record that the text of JPM has not been published.

I also went through the *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. I — Bibliography, compiled by Karl H. Potter; it also records that the text JPM is an unpublished text on *Advaita-Vedānta* philosophy.

In this respect, I also consulted the work entitled — *Advaita-Vedānta Literature — A Bibliographical Survey* by R. Thangaswami. No author's name is mentioned in this book. The subject matter of the text is the nature of *ajñāna* or nescience which projects the unreal world (*saṃsāra*).

The mss. of the text JPM is available in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (BORI) Poona; Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswati Mahal Library; (TMSSML)

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Oriental Research Institute, (ORI) Baroda; The Asiatic Society, (Asiatic Society) Kolkata.

Hence, I have attempted to prepare a text critical study of the hitherto unpublished text of JPM and I have taken the manuscript of TMSSML, bearing the number 7666 for transcription. For collative material I have taken the ms. of Indian Museum collection of AS, bearing the no. IM 1554 and the ms. of TMSSML, no. 7667.

The ms. of BORI, no. 355 of 1895-192 is totally brittle and incomplete; so this could not be taken for collation.

Detailed Description of the mss. of JPM consulted for editing

The mss. of JPM, those are consulted is as follows:—

Ms. A Ms. no. 7666

Repository: TMSSML; Title: *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī*; Subject: *Advaita-Vedānta* philosophy; Language: Sanskrit; Script: Devanagari; Folio: 12 (1-12); Size: 23.5×11 cm; Condition: Fair; Material: Handmade paper; Complete.

Ms. B Ms. no. 7667

Repository: TMSSML; Title: *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī*; Subject: *Advaita-Vedānta* philosophy; Language: Sanskrit; Script: Devanagari; Folio: 13 (1-13); Size: 22×9 cm; Condition: Fair; Material: Handmade paper; Complete.

Ms. C Ms. no. IM 1554

Repository: AS; Title: *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī*; Other Title: *Jñānabodhamañjarī*; Subject: *Advaita-Vedānta* philosophy; Language: Sanskrit; Script: Devanagari; Folio: 22 (1-22); Size: 17×11.5 cm; Condition: Fair; Material: Handmade paper; Complete.

Ms. D Ms. no. 355 of 1895-192

Repository: BORI; Title: *Jñānaprabodhamañjarī*; Subject: *Advaita-Vedānta* philosophy; Language: Sanskrit; Script: Devanagari; Folio: Could not be counted

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due to very damaged condition; Size: 20×10 cm; Condition: Heavily damaged; Material: Handmade paper; Incomplete.

The contents of JPM in brief

Jñānaprabodhamañjarī (JPM) is a compendium type of text of *Advaita-Vedānta* Philosophy. It is difficult to ascertain the time of the text as the author's name is not mentioned in any of the mss. or descriptive catalogoues and even in the different bibliographical texts This compendium type of systematic treaties is written in short, which does not elaborate the subject in detail, but serves only to hold before the reader the lost threads of memory of elaborate disquisitions with which the reader is already acquainted. The text contains the nature of *Ajñāna* or nescience and definition of *mithyā* or *māyā*. According to the *Advaita-Vedānta* of Śaṃkara the two words are used synonymously. Brahman conditioned by *māyā* is *Īśvara*. *Māyā* is His power or energy, the source of the names and forms, which are modified into the phenomena of the world and which are neither real nor unreal, but indefinable. *Māyā* is cosmic nescience. It is an indefinable principle. It is ontologically unreal, since Brahman is the only ontological reality. But it is not absolutely unreal like a hare's-horn; it is real enough to project the multiple world of appearences.

Ajñāna, the cause of all illusion is defined as that which is *Anādi* (beginningless), yet positive and removable by knowledge. Though it manifests itself in all ordinary things which have a beginning in time, yet it itself has no beginning, for it is associated with the pure consciousness which is Anādi (beginningless). Again though it has been described as positive or *bhāvarūpa* it can very well constitute the essence of negation or *abhāva* too, for the positivity does not mean here the opposite of *abhāva* but notes merely its difference from *abhāva*. *Ajñāna* is not a positive like any other positive entity, but it is called positive simply because it is not mere negation.

In this text the author describes that *Ajñāna* is established by perception and inference. He also elucidates the Locus and object of *Ajñāna*. The author says — this *Ajñāna* rests on the pure *cit* or intelligence. This *cit* or Brahman is of the nature of pure illumination, but yet it is not opposed to the *Ajñāna* or the indefinite for co-existence.

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The author describes here the concept of *mithyā*. The term *mithyā* may also mean that which is indeterminable or *anirvacanīya*, that which is not determined either as real (*sat*) or as unreal (*asat*) nor as both in one (*sadasat*). As for example, the author explains that the objects which are apparently real or *prātibhāsika* (e.g., the snake on the locus of the rope), and the objects which are empirical real or *vyāvahārika* (e.g., the perception of an empirical snake or the world) are not real in the transcendental or *pāramārthika* sense, since both of the term are negated by knowledge of the eternal. But the objects which are apparently real are removed by the empirical knowledge and the objects which are empirically real are sublated by the cognition of Brahman.

Then the author of JPM explains *mithyātva*. The term *mithyātva* or falsity is not the contradictory of reality. The contradictory of reality is unreal (*asat*) which cannot appear at all. The *Advaita* thinkers have defined *mithyā* in different ways. There are five different definitions of *mithyā* in *Advaita-Vedānta* literature, and these are alternative descriptions of *mithyā,* self-dependent and equally valid. The present author also describes all of these in question-answer format of the disciple and the master respectively. The teacher illustrates the concepts with many examples taken from the world of experience, which make the discussion lucid and transparent.

In this regard the author also describes that the body which appears as Self is false self of *mithyātmā*. For instance, he cites the example, as the rope that appears as a snake is regarded as false snake or *mithyātmā* or the Self which is not really so, or false Self.

This way in question-answer format the author describes the nature, locus and object of *ajñāna* or nescience. The student asks about the process of creation, existence and destruction (*srṣṭi-sthiti-pralaya*) of this *saṃsāra*. If it is non-existence or unreal, how does it appear? The answer given is — if something is seen but not proved then it is not valid, like the mirage in the desert. The *saṃsāra* has the features of existence (*asti/bhāti*) but it is baseless (*nirmūla*); hence it is only a mistake, or apparent flash, there is no reality, it is only a form of expression — *satyatā nāsti, vacana-mātram*. Like dream, nescience is a mistake of the sight, due to non-cognition of the difference between truth and false and due to lack of

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listening to precepts as *gitā* and *śāstra*. *Ātman* is not a doer (*kartā*) *prakṛti* is inert. Conscious self (*cidātman*) is only one and of unique nature, it appears as many due to the varied limiting adjuncts (*upādhi*). Just as the seed of the banyan tree is one, yet different parts of the tree have different forms, colours and taste. Many more similar examples are cited one after the other to make the central concept vividly perceptible and convincing. To the question whether the attributes or merits and demerits of *māyā* affect *Ātman*, the answer is simply 'No'. They do not and cannot involve or affect the Highest Self which is sublime and eternal; just as the sun is not affected by the inert things it exposes, or as the sandal-tree which is the above of snakes is not affected by snakes' qualities. Or, as the water of a big lake is not affected by the layer of algae covering it, so *māyā*, though covering Brahman and projecting it (*āvaraṇa* and *vikṣepa*), cannot *really* change or modify its *real* nature.

Finally, as means to liberation it is elaborated that an all out effort of mind, intellect, determination together with devotion of Lord Viṣṇu is the path. This matter of *Viṣṇubhakti* is an indication of its not being authored by Śaṃkarācārya, and rather of its belonging to a later period of *Bhakti* cult.

॥ ज्ञानप्रबोधमञ्जरी ॥

॥ श्री गणेशाय नम : ॥[1]

शिष्य उवाच[2] - हे गुरो[3] संसारोत्पत्तिं[4] स्थितिं विनाशं यथोक्तं कथय; संसारस्वरूपं ज्ञात्वा यथाहं मुच्ये ॥[5] यथा तव निजस्वरूपं ज्ञात्वा जन्ममरणदुःखसुखपापपुण्यकर्म-कोटिबन्धनान्मुच्यते [ऽ] हम् ॥[6] तापत्रयरुपात्[7] संसारात् श्रीरामशरणं गच्छे [ऽ] हम् ॥

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1. C reads after नमः अथ ज्ञानबोधमञ्जरी लिख्यते; B reads after नमः श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः ।
2. B, C शिष्योवाच ।
3. A, B गुरो; C गुरु which is grammatically incorrect.
4. B संसारस्य उत्पत्तिं; C संसारस्योत्पत्तिं।
5. A यथाहं मुच्येते; B, C उयथाहंमुच्चे ।
6. A, B जन्ममरणदुःखपापपुण्यकर्मकोटिबंद्धना ०; C जन्ममरणदुःखसुखपापपुण्यकर्मकोटिबंद्धना ० ।
7. A तापत्रयात्; B तापत्रयरुपात्; C तापत्रयात् ।

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श्रीगुरुरुवाच-अयं संसारो[8] वस्तुतो नास्ति । आरोपित इव उच्यते । यथा रज्जौ भ्रमेण सर्पो भवति । तत्त्वतः कालत्रितये[9] सर्पो नास्ति । सर्वथैव रज्जुः । अधिष्ठानं सत्तामात्र एव ।

एवं ज्ञात्वा सुखी भव । एवं एक एव[10] सच्चिदानन्दः[11] परमात्मा निर्विकल्पः[12] निरुपाधिः[13] उपाधिरहितोऽस्ति ।।

किमुपाधिः ॥ नामरुपगुणवर्जितस्यः ॥ नामरुपगुणवर्जितस्य निर्गुणस्य तस्य नामरुपगुणवत्त्वमेव उपाधिः,[14] यस्य च चतस्रो [ऽ] वस्थाः ॥[15] अतीतः शुद्धः बुद्धः मुक्त इति । नित्यः स्वयंप्रकाशः इति ।[16] अवाङ्मनसगोचरः केनापि प्रकारेण ज्ञातुं न शक्यते ॥ उपनिषदपि लक्षणया वदति ॥ न तु साक्षात्कारः; परं तु गुरोर्वाक्यात् अनुभवः[17] कर्तुं शक्यते; परं तु वक्तुं न शक्यते ॥[18] यथा[19] अर्भकस्य शर्करा ॥ अर्भकः[20] शर्करायाः माधुर्यं जानाति; तां तथापि[21] वक्तुमशक्यत्वात्, कथितुं नो पार्यते, न शक्नोति ॥ अनया[22] बुद्ध्या यदि जानाति, तर्हि जानातु ॥ अन्यथा न जानातीति वेदार्थः ॥ उपनिषदर्थ एव सत्यम् ॥[23]

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8. A संसारो, B, C संसारः without *saṃdhi*.
9. A, B कालत्रितये; C कालत्रयेपि ।
10. A एकैक; B एक एव; C एकैव ।
11. A, C omit विसर्गः ।
12. A, C omit विसर्गः ।
13. A, C निरुपाधि; B निरुपाधिः ।
14. A नामरुपैगुणवर्जितैर्यस्य निर्गुणस्य चतस्रोऽवस्था; B नामरुपैगुणवर्जितस्य निर्गुणस्य तस्य नामरुपगुणवत्वमेव उपाधिः; C नामरुपैगुणवर्जितै यस्य निर्गुणस्य च ।
15. A चतस्रोऽवस्थाः; B यस्य च चतस्रोऽवस्था; C तत्रोवस्थाः ।
16. A अतीतः शुद्धः बुद्धः मुक्तः नित्यः स्वयं प्रकाश इति; B अतीतः शुद्धः बुद्धः मुक्तः इति नित्यः स्वयंप्रकाशः; C अतीतः शुद्धबुद्धः मुक्तः नित्यः स्वयं प्रकाशयति ।
17. A, C अनुभवं; B अनुभवः ।
18. A, C परंतु वक्तुं न शक्यते; B omits this ।
19. A, B यथा; C अथ ।
20. A, B अर्भकः; C अर्भकस्य ।
21. A, B तथापि; C यथापि ।
22. A,B अनया; C अन्यथा ।
23. A, C सत्यम्; B सत्यः ।

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शिष्य उवाच ॥[24] हे स्वामिन् [!] असत्यः[25] संसार उक्तः ।। तत् कथं घटते[26] ? प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणेन दृश्यते[27] यः संसारः, दुष्टिगोचरत्वात् श्रुतिगोचरत्वाच्च ।[28]

असत्यं प्रतिपादयितुं कथं शक्यते[29] ॥ ? अयं स्वार्गादिः[30] यः संसारः श्रुतिगोचरत्वात्. सः[31] असत् प्रतिपादयितुं कथं शक्यते ॥ ?

अयं संदेह हे[32] स्वामिन्, छिन्धि त्वं; परमात्मस्वरुप एव मम[33] संदेहं भिन्धि[34] ॥

श्री गुरुरुवाच [॥] दृष्टिगोचरप्रमाणं प्रमाणभूतं[35] न भवति ।। यथा मृगजलं तु दृष्टिगोचरं भवति, तत् केनापि प्रमाणेन[36] सत्यं न भवति । यथा उदके प्रतिम्बंव दृशयते; तत् परमार्थतः सत्यं न भवति ॥[37] यथा स्वयं भ्रमरीं ददाति पश्चात्रिकटवर्तिनः पदार्था चक्राधिरूटढा इव[38] दृश्यन्ते ॥ परं तु, ते किं भ्रमन्ति ? अपि तु न भ्रमन्तीत्यर्थः ॥ तत्कथम् ? तदाभासो भ्रमः[39] ॥ यथा स्वप्नं[40] रात्रौ सुप्तः पश्यति । तत्किं सत्यं भवति ? अपि तु न सत्यं

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24. A, B शिय उवाच; C शिष्योवाच ।
25. A असत्य, B असत्यः; C असत्यम् ।
26. A धटति, B धटते; C चरति ।
27. A दृश्यत्वे; B, C दृश्यते ।
28. A, C श्रुतिगोचरत्वात्; B श्रुतिगोचरत्वाच्च ।
29. A reads this; B, C omit this line. A प्रतिपादितुं grammatically incorrect.
30. B, C omit अयं । A, C स्वार्गादयः; B स्वार्गादि यः ।
31. B, C omit this word. Hereafter all mss. read प्रतिपादितुं & not ०दयितुं ।
32. B, C omit हे ।
33. A ०स्वरूपैव मम; B ०स्वरूपैव एव मम, C ०स्वरूपैर्मम ।
34. A संदेहं भिंधिः; B संदेहं भिंधि, C संदेहं छिंधि ।
35. A, B प्रमाणभूतं; C प्रमाणं भूतं ।
36. A, B प्रमाणेन; C प्रकारेण ।
37. A omits this line यथा उदके ... न भवति ।
38. A,B चक्राधिरूढा इव; C चक्राधिरूढायव following it दृश्यते ।
39. A, B तदाभासो भ्रमः; C ददामांसो भ्रमः ।
40. A स्वप्नं, B reads this after सुप्र; C स्वप्न ।

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भवतीत्यर्थः । यथा शुकितिकायां रजतं[41] भाति, तत्किं सत्यम् ? अपि तु न सत्यम् [॥] एवं सर्वं दृष्टिगोचरम्[42] असत्यं ज्ञातव्यम् ॥ सर्वथैव एवं श्रुतिपदार्थाश्च[43] वाग्विलासाः ॥ सर्वे असत्याः । तान् श्रुतिवाग्गोचरान् पदार्थान् दर्शयति । यथा आकोशे कुसुमानि सन्ति, तथा श्रुतिगोचराणि वाग्गोचराणि, च परं तु ग्राह्यगोचराणि[44] न सन्ति । यथा शशशृङ्गं[45] श्रुतिगोचरं वाग्गोचरं च, परं तु ग्राह्यगोचरं[46] न भवति । यथा वन्ध्यापुत्रः श्रुतिगोचरः वाग्गोचरश्च[47] अस्ति, स्पर्शगोचरता न वर्तते[48], अनुभवः[49] क्रियते । अनेन केन प्रकारेण[50] अनुभूयते । तत्र सत्यता नास्ति, वचनमात्रमेव ।[51] यथा एकः[52] वन्ध्यापुत्रो व्रजति, आकाशकुसुमानि[53] शिरसि धारयति[54], अग्रे मृगजले स्नानं करोति, शशशृङ्गस्य[55] धनुर्दधाति; अश्वं विना अश्वारोहो भवति; यथा श्रुतिगोचरो वाग्विलासः, तथा शब्दविलासोऽस्ति[56] ॥ परं तु सर्वं[57] मिथ्यैव ज्ञातव्यं; स्पर्शगोचरादिकं सर्वमसत्यरूपमेव[58]; आगमापायिनो [ऽ] नित्या, इति यत् यत्[59] दुष्टं तत्तत् असत्यम् ॥ प्रथमं महाशास्त्रे उक्तं, वेदान्तादिभिरुक्तं[60], यथा स्वप्नं तथा विषयाः

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41. A, B रजतं; C रजतो ।
42. A, B सर्वं दृष्टि०; C सर्वदृष्टि० ।
43. A, B श्रुतिपदार्थं च; C श्रुतिपदार्था च ।
44. A, C omits परं तु; B परं तु । A, C ग्रह्यगो०; B ग्रहणगो० ।
45. A, B शशशृङ्ग; C शशकस्य शृङ्ग ।
46. A, C ग्राह्यगा०; B ग्रहणगो० ।
47. A, C omit these two words.
48. A वर्तेते; B, C वर्तते । C स्पर्ष० ।
49. A, C अनुभवं; B अनुभवः ।
50. A अनेन केन प्रकारेण; B अनेन केनचित् प्रकारेण; C अनेकप्रकारेण ।
51. A, C वचनमात्र एव; B वचनमात्रमेव ।
52. A एव; B, C एकः ।
53. A, B आकाशकुसुमानि; C आकाशे कुसुमानि ।
54. A, B धारयति; C धारयंति ।
55. A शशश्रुंगस्य; B शशशृंगस्य; C शशस्य शृंगं ।
56. All mss. ० विलासं all the two times, but the word is a masculine stem, in nominative singular that would be grammatically wrong.
57. A, C सर्वे अस०; B सर्वं अस० ।
58. A, B सर्वं असत्यरूपमेव; C सर्वं असत्यकपमेव ।
59. A reads यत् only once; but B, C read it twice
60. A वेदांतादिभिरुक्तं; B, C वेदांतादिभिः उक्तं, there is no *saṃdhi*.

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पुत्रकलत्रधनस्वजनमित्रवैरिलोकाः[61] । भयहर्षशोका[62] अहं मम[63] पापं पुण्यं उत्तममनुत्तमं[64] विधिनिषेधादयः पदार्थाः दृश्यन्ते[65], ते[66] स्वप्नवत् सर्वे[67] मिथ्या ज्ञातव्याः[68] । यावदज्ञानमायायां सुप्तो [s] स्मि, तावत् सर्वान् विषयभोगान्[69] भुनक्ति । स्वप्नदृष्टवत्सत्यता[70] यावत्सुप्तो [s] स्ति । अज्ञानमायायः प्रबोधे सति विचारते ।[71] मिथ्यैव अनु च अज्ञान आशङ्का हृदि प्रोद्भूता[72] द्रष्टव्याः[73] ।।

शिष्य उवाच[74] अयं चेदसत्यं संसारः[75], तर्हि निर्मूल एव स्यात्[76] अयं संसारः । असदस्ति भाति, तत्र किं कारणम्? अयं संदेहो महान्[77]; तत्रोत्तरं देहि ॥

श्रीगुरुरुवाच ॥ तत्स्वप्राज्ञानचक्षुषोर्दोषः[78] । अविवेकतो गुरुशास्त्रश्रनणाभावात्, तेन दोषेण दृष्टिः[79] आच्छादिता, विचारं विना नोदेति[80] च । यथा आदर्श दीर्धकालीनो मलः क्षयः[81] न व्रजति, तत्र बिम्बो न दृश्यते[82] । तथा

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61. A, C ०मित्रवैरीलोकाः; B ०मित्रवैरिलोकाः । Before this word C reading विशयाः (= doubts) in place of विषयाः is quite misleading.
62. A, C भयहर्षशोक; B भयहर्षशोका ।
63. A, B मम; C ममता ।
64. A पापपुण्यं; B पापं पुण्यं; C पापपुण्य । A, C उत्तम अनु०; B उत्तमं अनु० ।
65. A, B दृश्यंते; C दृश्यते ।
66. A, C ते; B reads सर्वे after ते ।
67. A, C सर्वे; B omits this.
68. A, B ज्ञातव्याछ; C ज्ञातव्यम् ।
69. A, B विषयभोगान्; C विषये भोगान् ।
70. A स्वप्रदृष्टवत्सत्यता; B, C स्वप्रदृष्टवत्सत्या ।
71. The first word in this sentence is ०मायायां in all mss., but it cannot be in 7th case-ending, it must be in the 5th because of syntactical reason. A मिथ्यैव; B, C write after मिथ्यैव अस्य स्वप्रस्य उत्तरो देवदत्तः; A writes it and deletes also.
72. A प्रोद्भूतां; B प्रोद्भूताः; C प्रोद्भूता ।
73. A दृष्टव्या; B, C द्रष्टव्याः ।
74. A शिष्यः; B शिष्य उवाच; C शिष्योवाच ।
75. A, C अयं चेदसत्यं संसार; B अयं संसारः असत्यश्चेत् ।
76. A, B तर्हि निर्मूल एव स्यात्; C तर्हि निर्मूल कथं न स्यात् ।
77. A, C ०अंय संदेहः महान्; B ०अयं महान् संदेहः ।
78. A तत्स्वमज्ञान; B तत्स्वप्राज्ञान; C तत्स्वप्रज्ञान ।
79. A गुरुशास्त्र०; B, C गुरुशास्त्र० । A omits विसर्ग (:) in दृष्टि, c makes *saṃdhi* ०ष्टिरा० ।
80. A, C ०विचारं विनोति; B विचारं विना नोदेति । Here नोदेति = न उद् गच्छति ।
81. A यथा दीर्धकालीनो आदर्शः समलक्षयं; B यथा आदर्शे दीर्धकालीनो मलः क्षयं; C ० आदर्श समलं क्षयं ।
82. A, B दृश्यते; C दृशंते ।

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अन्तःकरणे दीर्घकालीन आदर्शः मलक्षयं न व्रजति । तत्र बिम्बो न दृश्यते ॥[83] तथा अन्तःकरणे[84] दीर्घकालीनो[85] मलो लगितः[86] । तेन दोषेण ज्ञानलक्षणा[87] दृष्टिराच्छादिता[88] । यदा[89] समलो दर्पणः दर्पणकारपस्ते याति[90] यदा दर्पणं[91] घर्षति, समलं[92] निर्मलयति । तदनन्तरं तत्र स्वकीयं[93] प्रतिबिम्बं पश्यति; यादृशं मुकं तादृशं तत्र पश्यति[94] । पश्चात्सर्वे[95] संदेहाः गच्छन्ति मुखस्य; तथैव अन्तः ? करणं[96] निर्मलत्वं[97] तदा व्रजति । यदा विषयवैराग्यं[98] जायते, तदा तस्य श्रवणम् अध्यात्मशास्त्रे प्रीतिः[99] स्यात् । तत् श्रवणं[100] श्रीगुरोर्वचनं विश्वासः[101] । सशकलीकारः सतां जनानां संगितः । सा शकलीत्यभिधीयते ।[102] अनु तैश्च विश्वासः; तैलं[103] विचोरो घर्षणम् ।

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83. A, B read this line from तथा अन्तःकरणे... बिम्बो न दृश्यते twice; C omits this line.
84. A, B अन्तःकरणे; C अन्तः कर्णे ।
85. A, B दीर्घकालीनो; C दीर्घकालीं ।
86. A, B लगितः; C लंगितः ।
87. C omits this word.
88. A दृष्टिराच्छादिता; B ष्टिः आच्छा० without *saṃdhi*; C दृष्टिराच्छादिताः ।
89. A, B यदा; C यथा ।
90. A, B याति; C यातिः ।
91. A, B दर्पणं; C दर्पण ।
92. A मलं; B समलं; C मल ।
93. A, B स्वकीयं; C स्वकीयें ।
94. A, B पश्यति twice; C पश्यंति twice ।
95. A, B पश्चात्सर्वं; C पश्चात्सर्वं । C hereafter गच्छंतिः for गच्छंति ।
96. A अन्तःकरण; B, C अन्तःकरणं ।
97. A, C निर्मलं; B निर्मलत्वं ।
98. A, B विषये वैराग्यं; C विषयोपरि वैराग्यं ।
99. A, B श्रवणं; C शरणं । C आध्यात्म०; C omits विसर्ग in प्रीति ।
100. A, B श्रवणं; C शरणं ।
101. A, B ०र्वचनविश्वासः; C ०र्वचनं विश्वासः ।
102. For the first word A, C ०लीकारो; B ०लीकारः । A सशकलीतिभिधीयते; B शकलीत्यभिधीयते; C शकलितिभिधीयते ।
103. A, B तैलं; C तैल ।

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अनेन प्रकारेण अन्तःकरणं[104] निर्मलं भवति । पश्चात् स्वरूपम् आत्मनः स्वरूपम् आत्मवत् विन्दती । यत्त्वया उक्तसयं संसारः निर्मूलो [ऽ] स्ति[105], परं तु न निर्मूलः[106] । कथमनुमानं[107] क्रियते ? मूलं विना किंचिदपि नास्ति । शाखा-पत्र-पुष्प-फलानि न सन्ति । अत्रानुमानं क्रियते[108] । कारणं विना कार्योत्पत्तिर्न जायते; कार्येण कारणमुपलक्ष्यते ज्ञायते । यथा तन्तुभिः कृत्वा तन्तुकारो[109] ज्ञायते, यथा घटेन कुलालो ज्ञायते; यथा धूमेनाग्निः उपलभ्यते । यदा नदी संपूर्णा वहति[110], तदा तत्रानुमानं[111] क्रियते कुत्रचित् मेघा वर्षन्ति[112], एवमनुमानं कर्तुं शक्यते, परं तु तर्हि यस्य कारणस्य[113] रूपं नाम इन्द्रिया-गोचरत्वम् इन्द्रियाणि गुणाः एते सन्ति, तस्य किं क्रियते?

तत्सर्वेषां पदार्थानामादिः कारणं[114] स्वयमनादि सकलभूव्यापकं निर्लेपकं; कर्तृत्वं भोत्कृत्वं न[115]; परं तु साक्षी अद्वैतम् । प्रकृतिर्जडा[116] तस्या अतीतः[117] ।

शिष्य उवाच-हे स्वामिन् ! आत्म अकर्ता, प्रकृतिर्जडा उक्ता, तर्हि संसारः कस्मादुत्पद्यते ?

श्रीगुरुरुवाच-प्रकृतिपुरुषसंनिधानेनैव संसारो जायते[118]; यथाकाशे सूर्यो वर्तते, मणि [:] सूर्यकान्तः[119] भूमौ तिष्ठति उभाभ्यां कृत्वा वह्निः उत्पद्यते, तन्मणेः वह्निरुत्पादनेच्छा[120] नास्ति सूर्यस्यापि च वह्नेरपि नास्ति[121], किं तु

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104. A अंतष्करणं; B अंतःकरणं; C अन्तःकरण ।
105. A निर्मूलो अस्ति; B निर्मूलः स्यादिति; C निर्मूलोस्ति ।
106. C omits परं तु न निर्मूलः ।
107. B omit कथम् ।
108. A अत्र; B, C तत्र । A, B क्रियते; C क्रियंते ।
109. A, B तंतुकारो; C तंतुकारणो ।
110. A, B यदा नदी संपूर्णा वहति; C यथा नदि संपूर्णा वहति ।
111. A तत्रोनु०; B तत्रानु०; C तत्रुनु० ।
112. A मेघाः वर्षति; B मेघाः वर्षतीति; C मेघा वर्षति । B reads इति extra.
113. A, B कारणस्य; C कारणगुणस्य ।
114. A ०मादिः कारणं; B ०मादिकारणं; C ०मादिकारणं ।
115. A, C ०कर्तृत्वं भोक्तृत्वं न; B कर्तृत्व-भोक्तत्व-रहितं ।
116. A, C साक्षी; B साक्षि । A, B प्रकृतिर्जडा; C प्रकृतिज्जडा ।
117. A, B अतीतं; C अतितः ।
118. A प्रकृतिपुरुषः०; B ०पुरुष०; C रे शिष्य प्रकृति पुरुषः० ।
119. A अथाकाशे; B यथाकाशे; C यथा आकाशे । A, C सूर्यकांतिः; B सूर्यकांतः ।
120. A वह्निरुत्पादन इच्छा; B वह्नेरुत्पादन इच्छा; C बह्नरुपादान इच्छा ।
121. A, B वह्नेरपि नास्ति; C वह्निनास्ति ।

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तयोः[122] संनिधानमात्रेण वह्निर्जायते; एवं प्रकृतिपुरुषुभावेवाकर्तारौ; यथा चुम्बुकस्य[123] संनिधाने[124] लोहस्य चेतनत्त्वं भवति, पश्चादितस्ततश्चलति; यथा सूर्यसंनिधौ चक्षुषी रूपाणि गृह्णीतः[125], तथा अचेतनापि प्रकृतिः[126] आत्मसंनिधौ संसारमुत्पादयति[127] । उभौ अकर्तारौ[128], तयोः संयोगः संनिधानमात्र[129] एव, यथा समुद्रस्य वायोः संयोगात्[130] लहर्यो भवन्ति । अनु च विलयं यान्ति, एवं प्रकृतिपुरुषसंयोगे संसारो जायते[131] प्र भवति[132], अनु च विलयं याति । समुद्रस्य वायोरपि किंचिदपि न गच्छति, तथैव आत्मा अकर्ता नित्य [:] अनु च विलंय याति । समुद्रस्य वायोरपि किंचिदपि न गच्छति, तथैव आत्मा अकर्ता नित्य [:] पूर्णः एक एव[133] स्वयंप्रकाशस्वरूपः एवं जीवात्मनः स्वरूपं चन्द्रमापि षोडशकला-पूर्णो [s] स्ति[134] । तदैव कालेन कर्मणा कला गच्छति,[135] अविवेकेन[136] घटति,[137] स्वयं पूर्ण एव[138], तथैव आत्मा पूर्णो [s] स्ति, कालेन अविवेकेन कला[139] पतति । आत्मनः पुलरपि विवेकेन[140] घटति[141], एवं सा शङ्का निरस्ता[142] ।

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122. A, B किं तु तयोः; C कियतो ।
123. A चुंबुकस्य; B चुंवक; C चुंबुकल्प ।
124. A, B संनिधाने; C संनिधानेन ।
125. A, B गृह्णीतः; C गृहीतः ।
126. A omits विसर्ग ।
127. A आत्मसंन्नि...दयेति; B आत्मसंनि...दयति । C आत्मासं...दयति । C omits अनुस्वार in संसार ।
128. A, B अकर्तारौ; C अकतारौ ।
129. A, C संयोगसंनिधानमात्र एव; B संयोगः संनिधानमात्रमेव ।
130. A संयोगान्त ।
131. A संसारो जायते; B संसारोस्य; C संसारस्य करोति ।
132. A, B प्रभवति; C प्रभवि ।
133. A, C एकैव; B एक एव ।
134. A, B षोडशकला०; C शोडशकला० ।
135. C गच्छंति ।
136. A, B अविवेकेन; C विवेकेन ।
137. A, B घटति; C चढति ।
138. A पूर्णेव; B पूर्ण एव; C पूर्णैव ।
139. A, C कलां; B कला ।
140. A, B विवेकेन; C विवेके ।
141. A, C चढति; B वर्धते ।
142. A, C omit निरस्ता ।

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शिष्य उवाच ? चिदात्मा[143] एकरूप एव[144] भवति, तत्कथं यः एकरूपः एकरूपः सदैव सदा त्वं कथं भवति[145], यावत्तु व्यभिचारं[146] न प्राप्नोति तावत् किमनुमानं क्रियते ?[147] तव वचनात् ज्ञास्ये [ऽ] हं ।

श्रीगुरुरुवाच[148] ? आत्मा एकरुप एव[149], यथा वटबीजं[150] एकमेव[151] नानात्व दृश्यते, बीजं तु[152] एकमेव[153]; त्वक् एकैव[154], अङ्कुरमेकमेव, मूलमेकमेव[155], शाखा एकैव, डीरकमेकमेव[156], पत्रमेकमेव, फलमेकमेव, जलमेकमेव, दुग्धमेकमेव, निर्यास एक एव[157], यथा वटबीजमेकं नानात्वं भाति[158], तथा आत्मा एक एव[159], नानारुपैर्नाना भाति, भिन्नेन व्यवहारेण वर्तते[160]; यथा एकस्मिन् तन्तौ नानारूपा मणयः प्रोक्ताः[161], तन्तुभिर्भिन्नव्यवहारेण[162] भित्ररूपव्यवहारेण वर्तन्ते ॥ तथैवात्मा एक एव, उपाधिभेदात् नानारुपभिन्नव्यवहारो[163]

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143. A, B चिदात्मा; C भो स्वामिन् चिदात्मा ।
144. A, B एत; C एवं ।
145. A, B भवति; C स्यात्; C reads तस्य before सदा ।
146. A, B व्यभिचारं; C व्यभ्यचारं ।
147. A, B omit this line तावत् किम् ... क्रियते ।
148. Only C reads hereafter अरे त्वं शृणं ।
149. A, C ०रूपैव; B ०रूप एव ।
150. A, B वटबीजं; C वटबीञं ।
151. A,C एकैव; B एकमेव ।
152. A बीजस्तु; B बीजंतु; C बिजस्तु ।
153. A, C एकैव; B एकमेव ।
154. A,B omit this sentence.
155. A अंकुर एकैव; B अंकुरं एक एव; C अंकुरं एकैव । A मूंल एकैव; B मूलं एकमेव; C मूल एकैव ।
156. A डीरकं एकैव; B ०डीरकं एकमेव; C डार एकैव ।
157. In all the parts A and c read एकैव एकैव for एकमेव एकमेव and एक एव । After the text under 156 C reads पत्र एकैव अंत्राणि एकैव, वनस्य एकैव वउवा एकैव extra; then फल etc.
158. A, B यथा वटबीजं एकं नानात्वं भाति; C यथा एकस्मिन् यं यं योनिं गम्यमानं नानात्वं भवति ।
159. A, C एकैव; B एक एव ।
160. A, C वर्तते; B वर्तते ।
161. A प्रोताः; B प्रोता; C प्रोत्ताः ।
162. A तंतुभिर्भिर्न०; B तंतुभिर्न०; C तनुभिन्न०।
163. A ०रूपभि...रो; B ०रूपः भि...रो; C ०रूपः भि...रे । B नाना in *saṃdhi* with the previous word, so ०भेदान्नाना०।

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भाति । यथा मृदेका नानाभेद[164] नानारूपैर्नानानामभिन्नव्यवहारो वर्तते[165] । तथैव आत्मा एक एव उपाधिभेदान्नानारूपैर्भिन्नव्यवहारः वर्तते[166] ।

शिष्य उवाच - तर्हि मायायाः ये गुणाः सत्त्वरजस्तमादयः[167] आत्मनि लग्ना भविष्यन्ति संगतिविशेषात्[168], यस्य संगतिसंनिधानं येन क्रियते, तस्य[169] ये हि[170] गुणाः तत्संगतिकारकं गच्छति[171] ।

श्रगुरुरुवाच-मायागुणा[172] आत्मनि न[173] लगन्ति । अत्र रविर्दृष्टान्तं ज्ञातव्यं[174]; यथा रवि एकं[175] विश्वं प्रकाशयति; यथा विश्वः[176] सूर्योदये स्वानि स्वानि कर्माणि करोति, विधिनिषेधादीनि तानि किंचित् सूर्य गच्छन्ति[177], अपि तु न गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः[178] । यः यत् कर्म करोति तस्य कर्मणः फलं कर्ता[179] प्राप्नोति, तथा आत्मा कर्म न करोति[180], न कारयति; फलं कर्मणः[181] कथं प्राप्यते ? यथा पूर्णो नास्ति[182] । न्यून एव यः[183] कर्माण करोति, न पूर्णः कर्ता कर्मणः फलं प्राप्नोति ।

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164. A नाना भेदे; B भिन्नैर्भाण्डैः; C omits these words.
165. A, B वर्तेते; C वर्तते । A ०पैनाना०, C पैः नानाम० is haplography.
166. A, B वर्तते; C वर्तते ।
167. A ० स्तमादयः; B स्तम आदायः; C ०स्तमादयाः ।
168. A, B संगतिविशेषात्; C संगतिविशेषात्
169. A, B तस्य; C यस्य ।
170. A, B ये हि; C यहि ।
171. A, C गच्छति; B गच्छंति ।
172. A मायागुणाः; B मायायाः गुणाः; C रे शिष्य मायायाः गुणाः ।
173. A, B read this; C omits this word.
174. A रविर्दृष्टंतं ज्ञानाव्यं; B रविदृष्टांतो ज्ञातव्यः; C रविर्दृष्टांत ज्ञातव्यं ।
175. A एकं; B एकः; C एक ।
176. A विश्वः; B विश्वं; C विश्व ।
177. A, C किंचित् ०; B किं स्वित्०; A, C गच्छति; B गच्छंति ।
178. A, B गच्छन्तीत्यर्थः; C गच्छति इत्यर्थः ।
179. A, B कर्ता; C omits this.
180. A करोति; B, C न करोति ।
181. A, B कर्मणः; C कर्मणाः ।
182. A यथा तूर्णो नास्ति; B यथा यः पूर्णो नास्ति; C यथा पूर्णास्ति ।
183. A, C यः; B सः ।

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शिष्य उवाच-पूर्वमेव[184] भवद्भिः उक्तं कार्येण[185] कृत्वा कारणमुप लभ्यते । तर्हि कुण्डले[186] कार्यकारणे द्वे स्तः[187] इति दृश्यते । यथा मृत्तिकायां[188] कार्यकारणे[189] द्वे स्तः; काष्टे[190] कार्यकारणे द्वे स्तः[191]; परं तु देहे देह एव दृश्यते अति तु आत्मा न दृश्यते । अयं सन्देहो[192] मयि वर्तते । त्वं छिन्धि[193] यस्मात्त्वं सर्वज्ञः, तस्मात्त्वां[194] पृच्छामि । श्रीगुरुरुवाच-अहो अतीव साधुः त्वदीय प्रश्नः, धन्य[195]; यतः आत्मनः शोधनं परं जातम्, अतएव धन्यः[196] । आत्मा नित्य एव[197], माया अनित्यैव मायायाः गुणाः त्रयः कृताः[198] सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि[199], तमोमुणस्य पञ्चभूतानि[200] महास्थूलसूक्ष्मादीनि[201], रजोगुणस्य इन्द्रियाणि दश, सत्त्वगुणस्य अहंकारादयः मायायाः कृताः[202], रजोगुणस्य इन्द्रियाणि दश, सत्त्वगुणस्य अहंकारादयः मायायाः कृताः[203], तैः सर्वैः[204] आतमानं न जानाति[205], कथं

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184. A पूर्वे एवं; B पूर्वमेव; C पूर्व एव ।

185. A, B कार्येण; C कर्यण ।

186. A कुन्दले, B, C कुंडले ।

187. A, B द्वे स्तः; C द्वेस्ति ।

188. A, B मृत्तिकायां; C मृतकायां ।

189. A, B कार्यकारणे, कार्येकारणे ।

190. A काष्ठं; B, C काष्ठे ।

191. A स्त; B स्तः; C स्ताः ।

192. A संदेहो, B संदेहः; C संदेह ।

193. A, B त्वं छिंधि C छिधि ।

194. A, C यस्मात्वं... तस्मात्वां; C यस्मात्वां... तस्मात्त्वां ।

195. A, C साधु त्वकीयं प्रश्नं धन्यं; B साधुः प्रश्नः धन्यः ।

196. A, C धन्यं; B धन्यः ।

197. A, C नित्यैव; B नित्य एव ।

198. A, B कृताः; C कृत्वा ।

199. A, C सत्त्वरजस्तमसः; B सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि ।

200. A, B पंचभूतानि; C पंचमहाभूतानि ।

201. A महास्थूलसूक्ष्मादिनि; B महास्थूलसूक्ष्मादीनि; C महास्थूलसूक्ष्म ।

202. A, B मायायाः कृताः; C मायाः कृता ।

203. A, B असत्यरूपा; C असडूया ।

204. A, C सर्वैः; B सर्वे ।

205. A, C जानाति; B जानंति ।

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न जानाति ?[206] यथा सूर्यस्य तेजः सूर्यं ज्ञातुं न शक्नोति, यथा नदीसरोवरादयः[207] मेधं न जाननिति, यथा रत्नस्य कान्तिः रत्नं[208] न जानाति, यथा स्वकीयमुखस्य श्वासः[209] स्वकीयं मुखं न जानाति, यथा वाटिकानां वृक्षः[210] मालाकारं न जानाति[211], यथा कुण्डलं स्वर्णकारं न जानाति, यतः एते जडाः । अन्तःकरणादयो गुणाः[212] मायागुणान् ज्ञातुं न शक्नोति । मनोबुद्धिहंकारचित्ते[213] अन्तःकरणचतुष्टयनिमित्तिमेतद्[214] ।

शिष्य उवाच - एवं चेतर्हि आत्मा[215] कथं ज्ञायते । आत्मज्ञानं विना संसारान्न[216] मुक्तिर्भवति[217]; त्वदीयया कृपया ज्ञायते[218], नान्यथा[219] ।

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - साधुः प्रश्नः[220] त्वदीयः, समीचीनं पृष्टम् । यथा चक्षुषि[221] सूर्यप्रतिविम्वो भवति, चक्षुषः[222] बिम्बेन परं सूर्यो गृह्यते । यथा चक्षुश्चन्द्रेण मूलभूतश्चन्द्रो दश्यते, यथा गृहमध्ये उपविष्टे सति उद्योत्कारं तद्विचार्यते[223]

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206. A, C जानाति; B जानंति ।
207. A, B नदीसरोवरादयः; C नदिशरोवरादयः ।
208. A ०कांति रत्नं; B ०कांति रत्नं; C ० कांति रतनि ।
209. A, B स्वकीयमुखस्य श्वासः; C स्वकीये मुखं यंत्स्वासः ।
210. A, B वादिकानां वृक्षाः; C वादिकानां वृक्षाः ।
211. A, C जानाति; B जानंति ।
212. A, B read गुणाः; C omits this. Wrongly the finite verb शक्नोति is in singular no. in all mss.; शक्नुवन्ति would be grammatically correct.
213. A मनोवुद्धिरहंकारचित्ते; B मनोबुद्धिरहंकारः चित्तं; C मनोवुद्धिरहंकार चित्तं ।
214. A अन्तःष्करणचतुष्टयमित्तेतत्; B अन्तः करणचतुष्टयनिमित्तमेतत्; C अतष्करणादयो मायागुणान् ज्ञातुं चतुष्टयं निमित्तेतत् ।
215. A, B आत्मा; C आत्मनः ।
216. A, B संसारान्न; C संसारत् ।
217. A, B मुक्तिर्भवति; C मुक्तिर्भिवति ।
218. A जायते; B ज्ञायते; C ज्ञानाय ।
219. A, B नान्यथा; C नान्यथाः ।
220. A साधु प्रश्नं; B साधुः प्रश्नः; C साधु प्रश्नः ।
221. A, C चक्षूषि; B चक्षुषि ।
222. A, B चक्षुषः; C चक्षुषाः ।
223. A यता गृहमध्ये ... इद्योत्कारं तद्विचार्यते; B यथा गृहमध्ये...उद्योत्कारं तद्विचार्यते; C यथा च गृहमध्ये...उद्योत्कारं दृश्यते तद्विचार्यतो ।

SOMNATH SARKAR
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इदमुद्योत्काकं कुतः ? भाजनस्य किं वा अङ्गणोद्भूतं तेजः, किं वा सूर्यभाजनसंयोगात्तेजः । जनेन प्रकारेण अनुमानं क्रियते । पश्चाद्विचारेण कारणं ज्ञायते । यथा अन्धकारे रत्नं[224] पश्यति, सूर्यस्य तेजसा सर्वं पश्यति यथा चन्द्रमसस्तेजसा चन्द्रं[225] पश्यति, तथात्मानः[226] प्रकाशेन आत्मानं जानाति; तं विना अन्यः को [s] पि नास्त्येव तस्माद्दृश्यते । एवं चेद्दृश्यं[227] द्रष्टास्त्येवं[228] तर्हि दृश्यते । अन्यद्द्रष्टुमशक्यत्वम्[229], आत्माना आत्मा[230] ज्ञायते ।

शिष्य उवाच - यदि आत्मा एक एव[231] तर्हि योगेश्वराणां ध्यानगोचरो[232] भविष्यति । अस्मदादीनां[233] गोचरो न भवेत् ।

श्री गरुरुवाच - आत्मा ध्यानगोचरो[234] न भवेत् । यस्मात् दृश्यो[235] नास्ति । कारणं कार्यरुपेण प्रकटितम् । तर्हि कारणं कथं दृश्यते[236] ? यथा सुवर्णमेकमेव कुण्डलत्वेन प्रकटितं[237], तर्हि कुण्डलं सुवर्णं कथं वेत्ति ? अपि तु [238] नाना बीजं तु[239] एकमेव[240] । तत्फलरूपेण प्रकटितं, तर्हि तत्फलं मूलभूतं बीजं कथं जानाति ?[241] तर्हि केन

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224. A, B रत्नं; C रत्न ।
225. A, B चंन्द्रं; C चंद्रमसं ।
226. A तथात्मननः; B तथा आत्मानः; C तथात्मानः ।
227. A चेदृश्यं; B, C चेत् दृश्यं ।
228. A, B द्रष्टास्त्येवं; C दृष्टास्त्येव ।
229. A, B अन्यद्रष्टुमशक्यत्वं; C अन्यद्दृष्टुमशक्यतत्वं ।
230. A, B आत्मना आत्मानं; C आत्मानि आत्मन ।
231. A, C एकैव; B एकएव ।
232. A, B ध्यानगोचरो; C ध्यानगोचर ।
233. A, B अस्मदादीनां; C अस्मदादिना ।
234. A आत्मा ध्यानगोचरो; B आत्मध्यानगोचरो; C आत्मा ध्यानुगोचरो ।
235. A, B दृश्यो; C दृश्ये ।
236. B, C read this line; A omits this line.
237. B, C read this line; A omits this line.
238. A, B तु; C omits this word.
239. A, B बीजं तु; C बीजं जन्तु ।
240. A, C एकैव; B एकमेव ।
241. C after जानाति reads श्रीगुरोर्वाच - अरे शिष्य ० ।

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प्रकारेण जानाति ?[242] मूलबीजं यतः ?[243] फलत्वेन ज्ञातं[244] भूतं तन्मूलबीजे फलबीजमध्ये आगतम् । तद् ज्ञायते[245] । यथा स्वयं देवदत्तः, देवदत्तम् अन्यत्र प्राप्नोति । परं तु न प्राप्नोति, खेदं तं प्राप्नोति[246] देवदत्तः । पश्चात् स्वामिनं यदा पश्यति यत् स्वकीयं कारणमद्वैतमस्ति तदा सुखी भवति ।

शिष्य उवाच - चेद्यदि अत एवमस्ति तर्हि जीवः सुखी कथं न स्यात् ? अनु च जन्ममरणादिकं कथं भुनक्ति ? यतः एक एवास्ति[247] किम् अद्वैताक्षर एव ।

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - यथा काष्ठे वह्निरस्ति, पर्हि काष्ठं[248] कथं न दहति, चेद्यदि काष्ठमथनेन दहति[249], तस्मिन् प्रत्यक्षेण दृश्यते, परं कथं न दहति । चेद्यदि, काष्ठमथनं क्रियते यदा तदा वैश्वानरः[250] प्रकटीभवति । मथनयोगात् पश्चात्[251] स्वयोनिं[252] दहति, अन्यथा[253] सत्तामात्र एव[254] । स्वयोनिं दहितुं[255] न शक्नोति । यथा महिष्यां गवि च पृतमस्ति । परं तु तेन तासां पीनत्वं न जायते । यदि तृणतुषकार्पासादिकं[256] दीयते, तर्हि[257] ताभ्यः[258] धृतं गुह्यते । मन्थनयोगोपायैः[259] कृत्वा तासां दत्ते[260] सति बलपुष्टिकारी[261] भवति । अन्यथा सत्तामात्रमस्ति[262],

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242. A, C read this line; B omits this line.
243. A, B यतः; C यः ।
244. All mss. read जातं ।
245. A तत् ज्ञायते; B तेन ज्ञायते; C ज्ञायते ।
246. A खेदं तं प्राप्नोति; B खेदं न प्राप्नोति; C तत्कथं खेदमाप्नोति ।
247. A, C एकैवास्ति; B एक एवास्ति ।
248. A, B काष्ठं; C काष्ठ ।
249. A चेद्यदि काष्ठमथेन दहति; B, C omit this sentence.
250. A तदा तदा ०; B, C यदा तदा ।
251. A, B पश्चात्; C omit this word.
252. A, B स्वयोनिं; C स्वयोनि ।
253. A, B अन्यथा; C अन्यता ।
254. A, B एव; एवं ।
255. A, B दहितुं; C दहतु; the grammatically correct word would be दग्धुं ।
256. A तृणतृषकार्पासादिकं; B नृजतुषकार्पासबीजादिंक; C तृणतषकर्पासादीकं ।
257. A, B तर्हि; C तदा ।
258. A, B तेभ्यः; C ताभ्यः ।
259. A, C मथनयोगोपायैः; B मन्थनयोगोपायैः ।
260. A, C दत्तं; B दत्त ।
261. A, B ०बलपुष्टिकारी; C सतद् बलंपुष्टिकारी ।
262. A, B सत्तामात्रमस्ति; C सत्तमात्रोस्ति ।

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पुष्टिकारी[263] न भवति । तथैव श्रीगुरोर्वाक्यात् शास्त्रविचारात् सतां जनानां सङ्गात्[264] विश्वासाच्च[265] आत्माज्ञानं भवति । अन्यथा स्वयं बलेन न[266] ज्ञायते । यतः असद्विषये पीडिताः[267] ते असद्विषये आत्मज्ञानं न ददाति ।

शिष्य उवाच - एवं चेद्यदि तर्हि अयमात्मा असदिन्द्रियेषु अन्तर्बहिस्तिष्ठति ।[268] इन्द्रियगुणाः आत्मानं लगन्ति किम् ?[269]

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - दृष्टानां गुणाः आत्मनि न लगन्ति, यथा चन्दनगुणैः परिमलादिभिः[270] सर्पास्तान्[271] वृक्षान् वेष्टयित्वा सेवन्ते क्षणं, न मुञ्चन्ति[272] । तथापि सर्पविषं सर्पगुणं च चन्दनवृक्षान् न लगन्ति[273] । दुष्टसर्पान् प्रति चन्दनगुणाः न व्रजन्ति[274] । तथैव उत्तमपुरुषस्य आत्मानः कुसङ्गदोषः इन्द्रियाणां सङ्गदोषः इन्द्रियाणां सङ्गदोषेण न[275] व्रजन्ति[276] । उत्तमगुणाः दुष्टान् न व्रजन्ति, न लगन्ति ।[277] चन्दनसर्पदृष्टान्तेन ज्ञातव्यम्, तथा तिलाः सस्नेहाः, पुष्पसंयोगात् परिमलसंयुक्तः भवन्ति । तेषु तैलेषु पाषाणाः[278] शतवर्षं यावत् कुसुमानि मुच्यन्ते, तथापि तेषां पुष्पपरिमलो न लगति ।[279] यथा उत्तमपुरुषः । चन्दनं सुवर्णं इक्षुः, यथा अत्यन्तं[280] परि पीड्यते, तथा विशेषगुणं

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263. A, B पुष्टिकारी; C पुष्टिकारि ।
264. A, C संगात्; B संगमात् ।
265. C omits च ।
266. C omits न ।
267. A, C असद्विषये पीडिताः; B असद्विषयपीडिताः ।
268. After शिष्य उवाच B, C read एवं चेद्...स्तिष्ठति; A omits this line एवं चेद्...स्तिष्ठति ।
269. A, B इन्द्रियगुणाः; C इंद्रिये गुणा । A लगति किम्; B लगंति किम्; C लिंगिते नः
270. A परिलादिभि; B, C परिमलादिभिः ।
271. A सर्पाः स्तान्; B सर्पाः तान्; C सर्पास्थान् ।
272. A मुंचति; B मुंचुंन्ति; C मुच्यते ।
273. A, B लगंति; C लंगति ।
274. A, B व्रजन्ति; C व्रजति ।
275. A संगदोषे न; B संगदोषेण न; C संगदोषो न ।
276. A, B व्रजंति; C वृजंति ।
277. A, B लगंति; C लंगति ।
278. A read this. B and C संति तेषु पाषाणेतु after पाषाणाः ।
279. A लगति; B गति; C लंगति ।
280. A अत्यंत; B, C अत्यंतं ।

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ददाति । परं तु विक्रियां न भजते[281] । सध्यमपुरुषो यथा लशुनं डुङ्गलिका वारं वारं अवलोड्यते । तथा अत्यन्तं गन्धं करोति । शिष्य उवाच - तार्हि शास्त्रमतां[282] गुरुपदेशः निरर्थको भवेत् ?

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - यदि चेज्जीवः[283] पुरुषाकारं करोति, तर्हि तस्य जीवस्य सर्व उपदेशपरिणामः[284] यथा तीर्थेन मुक्तिरस्ति, तत्सर्वं[285] सतामिति । यदि उद्यमादिकं कृत्वा व्रजति, तदा मुक्तिरेवास्तीत्यर्थः । गृहे तिष्ठति, तर्थे मुक्तिर्न भवति[286] । तथैव गुरुशास्त्रविश्वासोपायोद्यमकर्ता[287] परं पदं प्राप्नोति । तच्चन करोति[288] तर्ह्येव[289] मुक्तिर्न स्यात् । तथा जीवस्य सूर्यप्रकाशो भवति । यदि जीवश्च[290] स्वयं नाव लोकयति, तर्हि सूर्यं कथं पश्यति[291], कार्यं करोति, तथैव जीवः पुरुषाकारेण परिणमति; यदा स्वचक्षुषा पश्यति, तदा सर्वं पश्यति, तदा कार्यसिद्धिर्जायते[292] । यथा परीक्षिता[293] राज्ञा ज्ञातंमह[294] निश्चियेन मरिष्यामि, तर्हि शास्त्रगुर्वादौ[295] विश्वासः कृतः, तर्हि तस्य परीक्षितः[296] एकवारश्रवणेन सायुज्यलक्षणमुक्तिर्जाता[297] । यदा खद्वाङ्गेन[298] हि दिलीपेन[299] एवं ज्ञातम्, अवश्यं मर्तव्यमिति,

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281. A, B भजते, C भजेत् ।

282. A शास्त्रमतां; B शस्त्रसतां; C reads after शिष्य उवाच - भो स्वामिन् भवान् पूर्वः दृष्टान्ते लशुनस्य, एवं उतं तर्हि शास्त्रविचारसतां संगति ।

283. A चज्जीः; B चज्जीवः; C चेत् जीवः ।

284. All mss. read सर्व उपदेशपरिणामः without *samāsa*.

285. A, B तत्सर्वं; C तत्सर्व्व ।

286. A, B तीर्थेमुक्तिर्नभवति; C तीर्थेमुक्ति न भवति ।

287. A, C read it without internal *saṃdhi* as ० विश्वासः उपाय उद्यम ० ।

288. A सच्चक करोति; B तच्च न करोति; C omits this.

289. A तर्ह्येव; B तर्हि; C स स्वात्मोपाय विना ।

290. A, C जीवस्य; B जीवश्च ।

291. A कथं पश्यति; B न पश्यति; C कथं पश्यति ।

292. A, B कार्यसिद्धिर्जायते; C कार्यसिद्धिज्जयते ।

293. A, C परीक्षितेन; B परीक्षिता ।

294. A, B ज्ञातं अहं; C ज्ञायातं अहं ।

295. A, B शास्त्रगुर्वादौ; C शास्त्रगुरु आदौ ।

296. A परीक्षितस्य; B परीक्षितः; C परिक्षतस्य ।

297. A सयोज्यलक्षणामुक्तिर्जाता; B सायुज्यलक्षणामुक्तिर्जाता; C सायोज्य...जाताः ।

298. A घट्वांगेन; B खट्वांगेन; C षट्वांगेन ।

299. A पालीपेन (दिपालीपेन); B दिलीपेन; C दिलिपेन ।

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तर्हि अस्य मुहूर्तस्य मध्ये परमपदं[300] साधितं[301], यदि जीवेन मनसा[302] बुद्ध्या च चित्तेन[303] च उद्यमः क्रियते, तर्हि मुक्तिः[304] प्राप्यते ॥

शिष्य उवाच - हे स्वामिन् ! आत्मा किं वा एकदेशी[305] । तथा सर्वदेशीय आत्मा उच्यते ।[306] तर्हि तस्यात्मनः विषयाः कथमाच्छादयन्ति[307], अयं संदेहः ।

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - यथा महासरोवरे जलं निर्मलमस्ति । उपरि शैवाल[308] आच्छादयति[309], सत्तामात्रं न दृश्यते[310] । तथैव शैवालः स्वल्पः[311] जलं बहुलं, परं तु जलमाच्छादयति । सूर्यः पृथिवीं प्रकाशयति । अभ्रमेकदेशीयं[312] परं तु सूर्यतेजसः[313] अन्तरायभूतं भवति । तथा आत्मा सर्वदेशीयः[314] विषया एककेशीयाः[315] । परं तु आत्मानः ज्ञानं न ज्ञापयन्ति[316], किंतु आच्छादयन्ति[317] एवं ज्ञात्वा विषयाणां विश्वासो न कर्तव्यः । यथा व्याघ्रं पोषयति, सर्पान् दुग्धं पाययति[318], तथा वृश्चिकान् परिपालयति ।[319] एवं ज्ञात्वा यः पुमान् विषयानां व्याघ्रादीनां विश्वासं करोति स मूर्ख

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300. A परमं पदं; B, C परमपदं ।
301. A साधितं; B, C साध्यं ।
302. A, B मनसा; C only सा ।
303. A चित्तेन; B वित्तैन; C वित्तेन ।
304. A मुक्ति; B, C मुक्तिः ।
305. A, B आत्मा किं वा एकदशी; C आत्मा एकदेशी ।
306. A, B तथा सर्वदेशीय आत्मा उच्यते; C अथवा सर्वदेशी, यदा सर्वदेशी आत्मा न उच्यते ।
307. A, B ०दयंति; C ०दयति ।
308. All mss. read सेवाल ।
309. A, B आच्छादयति; C आच्छादयेति ।
310. A, B दृश्यते; C दृशंते ।
311. A, B शैवालः स्वल्पः; C सेवाल । स्वल्प ।
312. A, B अभ्रं एकदेशीयं; C आभ्रम एकदेशीयाः ।
313. A, B सूर्यतेजसः; C सूर्ये तेजसः ।
314. A, B सर्वदेशीयः; C सर्वदेशी ।
315. A एकदेशायाः; B एकदेशीयाः; C एकदेशीया ।
316. A, B ज्ञानं न ज्ञापयन्ति; C ज्ञाने न ज्ञापयति ।
317. A, B ०आच्छादयंति; C अछादयतिं ।
318. A, B पाययति; C पायति ।
319. A, B तथा वृश्चिकान् परिपालयति; C omits this line.

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एव ज्ञातव्यः[320] । यतः महत्तरान्[321] मुनीनपि[322] पातयन्ति विषयाः । तत्सामान्यान्[323] कथं न पातयन्ति[324] । यतः श्रीमहादेवः भिल्लीरूपेण मोहिनीरूपेण च[325] मोहितः । श्रीरामचन्दो [s] पि, सीतारूपेण मोहितः[326] । विश्वामित्रो[327] ऊर्वशीरूपेण मोपितः । इन्द्रो [s] पि अहल्यारूपेण मोहतिः । चन्द्रो [s] पि तारारूपेण मोहितः । वालिरपि वानरीरूपेण[328] मृत्युं प्राप्तः । रावणः सीतारूपेण मृत्युं प्राप्तः । यदि एवंविधैर्महानुभावैर्विषयाणामङ्गीकारो कृतः[329], ते [s] नुमानपीडिताः[330], तर्हि अन्ये वराकाः[331] जीवाः तेषाम् किमुच्यते ? कथं ये[332] जीवाः विषयव्याघ्रादीनां पुरस्तिष्ठन्ति ।[333] एवं ज्ञात्वा विषयविश्वासो[334] न कर्तव्यः[335] । येषां विषयोपरि वैराग्यं निरन्तरं विष्णुभक्तिः, प्रेमसंसारमनित्यं ज्ञात्वा ते[336] निजमात्मानं जानन्ति[337]; यः स्वकीयं[338] सर्वोत्कृष्टं निजमात्मानं न जानाति[339] स आत्मघाती उच्यते । यः मनुष्यशरीरं प्राप्य[340] आत्मानं न जानाति, स ब्रह्मघाती । एवं ज्ञात्वा

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320. A, B एव ज्ञातव्यः; C एवं ज्ञातव्य ।
321. A, B यतः महत्तरान्; C ये महान् राजन् ।
322. A, C मुनिनपि; B मुनीनपि ।
323. A तत् सामान्यात्; B, C ननु सामान्यान् ।
324. A पातयंते; B, C पातयंति ।
325. Only B reads च ।
326. A, C विश्वामित्रो; B विश्वामित्रः ।
327. A, C वानररूपेण; B वानरीरूपेण ।
328. A, C वानररूपेण; B वानरीरूपेण ।
329. A ०र्विषयानामंगीकारो कृतः; B ०र्विषयाणामंगीकारः कृतः; C ०विषयानां अंगिकृत्यः ।
330. A, B तेनुमानपीडिताः; C तेन अनुमानेन पीडिताः ।
331. A अन्यैवराका; B, C अन्ये वराकाः ।
332. A, B ये; C ए ।
333. A, B विषयव्याघ्रादीनां पुरस्तिष्ठिन्ति; C विषये व्याघ्रादीनां पुरे तिष्ठन्ति ।
334. A, B विषयविश्वासो; C विषये विश्वासो ।
335. A, B कर्तव्यः; C कर्तव्यरिति ।
336. A, B omit ते ।
337. A, B जानंति, C जानाति ।
338. A, B स्वकीयं, C स्वकायं ।
339. A निजं आत्मानंन जाति; B आत्मानंन जानाति omitting निजम्; C निजात्मानंनजानाति ।
340. A, B मनुष्यशरीरं प्राप्य, C मनुष्यदेहे प्राप्त ।

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जगदीशज्ञाने प्रयत्नः कर्तव्यः ।[341] इदं मनुष्यशरीरं दुःखेन प्राप्यते । तस्य शरीरस्य कालः मिथ्या गच्छति । महतां सेवा कर्तव्या । एवं कुर्वन् यदि म्रियते, तर्हि भव्यं पुर[342] उत्तरकाले समीचीना लोकाः प्राप्यन्ते[343] । यदि विषयान् अङ्गीकुर्वन् म्रियते[344] तर्हि नरकान् प्राप्नोति । तदुपरि यमयातनां भुनक्ति, यः सञ्चयः कृतः सः तेन सार्धं व्रजति; यतः शुभं वा अशुभं वा पुण्यपापादि, एवं ज्ञात्वा विषयाणां सङ्गतिस्त्याज्या[345], विष्णोर्भक्तिः[346] वैराग्यपूर्वकं कर्तव्या ॥ श्रीगुरोः सेवा मनसा वाचा कर्मणा कर्तव्या, आध्यात्मशास्त्रस्य[347] विश्वासो सतां सङ्गमः कर्तव्यः । ये[348] स्वात्मानं उद्धर्तुमिच्छन्ति[349] तेषां[350] सतां सङ्गादिकं सर्वहेतुः, तेषामुपदेशः[351] ॥

शिष्य उवाच - यदि एकः परमेश्वरः[352] कथ्यते, तर्हि सर्वे[353] जीवाः ज्ञानवन्तो भवेयुः । यत्र यत्र परमेश्वरः तत्र तत्र ज्ञातवन्तः ।

श्रीगुरुरुवाच - यथा सूर्यः एकः विश्वस्य चक्षुषी प्रकाशयति, उलूकं न प्रकाशयति, यतो दिवान्धाः[354] । यथा वा गुलिका दिवा न पश्यति,[355] यथा रात्र्यन्धाः[356] जीवाः अनेकशो वर्तन्ते, रात्रौ चन्द्रमसं न पश्यन्ति । चन्द्रो [s] पि तान् किं करोति ? तथैव[357] विषयासक्ताः स्वात्मानं न पश्यन्ति । यतो मदेन पीडिताः । अतः स्वामात्मानं कथं

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341. A प्रयत्नं कर्तव्यं; B प्रयत्नः कर्तव्यः; C प्रयत्न कर्तव्याः ।

342. B omits पुरः ।

343. A समीचीनालोकाः प्राप्यते; B समीचीनाः लोकाः प्राप्यंते; C समीची ज्ञान प्राप्याते ।

344. A मृयते; B, C म्रियते ।

345. A विषयानां संगतिर्त्याज्या; B विषायानां संगतिस्त्याज्या; C विषायाना संगत्याज्या ।

346. A, B विष्णोर्भक्तिः; C विष्णुभक्तिः ।

347. A, B अध्यात्मशास्त्रस्य; C आध्यात्मशास्त्रस्य ।

348. A, C यः; B ये ।

349. A उद्धरितुंइच्छन्ति; B उत्थर्तुमिछंति; C उध्वर्तु इच्छिती ।

350. A, C ते; B तेषां ।

351. A ०हेतु ... उपतेशाः; B ०हेतुः ... उपदेशः; C ०हेतुः ... उपदेश ।.

352. A, B ०एकः परमेश्वरः; C ०परमेश्वरः एकः ।

353. A, B सर्वे; C सर्वेषां ।

354. A दिवांद्धा; B दिवांधः; C दिवांधाः ।

355. Only B reads यथा अन्धः सूर्यं न पश्यति after ०दिवा न पश्यति ।

356. A रात्र्यंद्धा; B रात्र्यंधाः; C रात्र अंधा ।

357. A, C तथैव; B तथैवं ?

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पश्यन्ति ?[358] यतः द्वैतवद्भाति, अद्वैतं न पश्यति[359], यथा दिवसः रात्रिं न पश्यति, यथा रात्रिः सूर्यं न पश्यति ।[360] परस्परं विरोधात् - सूर्यस्थानीयं सदोदितं[361] ज्ञानं सदा प्रकाशरूपम् । मायागुणाः सदा अज्ञानरूपाः । अन्धकारस्थानीयाः[362] एवं ज्ञातव्यम् । तदा कृतकृत्यो भवति ॥[363]

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358. Only B, C read तत्र मायागुणानां दोषाः, तेन सद्रूपं ज्ञानं न पश्यन्ति after ०स्वमात्मानं कथं पश्यन्ति ।

359. A, B द्वैतवद्भाति; C द्वैततः द्भादिः । A, B अद्वैतद्वैतं; C अद्वैतं ।

360. A, B read these; C omits these two sentences यथा दिवसः ... सूर्यं न पश्यति ।

361. A सतोदितं; B, C सदोदितं ।

362. A अज्ञानरूपा अंन्धकारस्थानीयाः; B अज्ञानांधकारस्थानीयाः; C अज्ञानं अंन्धकारस्थानि ।

363. A does not read anything after ०कृत्यो भवति; B reads इति ज्ञानप्रबोधमंजरी समाप्ता B further reads the following thereafter: - शुभं भवतु । श्रीरस्तु । ज्ञानं भवतु । नृत्यन्वी तव वीक्षणाङ्गनगता कालस्वभावादिभिर्भावानुसत्व [त्व] रजस्तमोगुण मयानुन्मीलयन्ती बहून् मामाक्रम्य पदा शिरस्यति भरं संमर्दयत्यातुरं माया ते शरणं गतोस्मिनृहरे त्वामेव तां वारय ॥ १ ॥ नृदेहमाद्यं सुलभं सुदुर्लभं प्लवं सुकल्पं गुरुकर्णधारं । मयानुकु-[कू] लेन नभस्वतेरितं पुमान् भवां [वा] ब्धिं न तरेत्य आत्महा ॥ २ ॥ C also reads इति श्रीज्ञानप्रबोधयथादिवसः रात्रिपठेत् ।

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REVIEW

The Fatal Arrow *- An analysis of the Vali Episode in Ramayana of Valmiki* by Suresh Balakrishnan, Old Madras Press, Chennai, 2021, ISBN: 978-81-95-4314-1-0, pp. xxii +164, Price: Rs. 220, Paperback.

Poor Vālmīki and his epic *Rāmāyaṇa* along with its hero Rāma are always the favourite bashing toys for so called self declared reformists, westernised progressive thinkers, always ready to bash popular Hindu beliefs, liberals. The feminists, seculars, economists, socialists, anthropologists, law-makers, so-called progressive authors of modern India, politicians, administrators... all find Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* a mine for criticism. Tulasīdāsa was smart as he avoided all points of controversies in his *Rāmacaritamānasa* but Vālmīki never knew that his work will be tried by all Toms, Dicks and Harries for centuries to come. How will he know as the Poor guy was composing the first ever Sanskrit epic according to 'His' own imagination??? He was not an expert on psychology, women rights, sociology and judiciary! He only knew that his ultimate creation 'Rāma' will inspire the people as an ideal till ages as the theme of *Rāmāyaṇa* was idealistic.

There are many episodes in *Rāmāyaṇa* where self -proclaimed intellectuals have attacked Rāma for his 'highly idealized', epitome of 'morality' - *maryādāpuruṣottama Rāma* image which occupies most of the Hindus' hearts by crucifying him for some of his deeds (which Vālmīki mentioned in *Rāmāyaṇa* to give Rāma, a human look). The episode of killing of Vāli is one of them. The present book goes into that discussion. While going in the debate, the author has divided these 'highly enlightened' groups in two, one by Rāma's critics and the other by his defenders (does Rāma need any?). The critics of Rāma referred here mostly belong to law profession - lawyers, judges (who else!) who call it a murder (Intro, p. xi), fraud (p. xii), black spot on Rāma's glory (xv), killed Vāli as a hunter (p. 13). The author himself refers it under 'covert attack theory'.

The prosecutors of Rāma mentioned in the book seem to be trying to rewrite the story according to their logics and whims (p. 18). If Vālmīki's Rāma has given preference to Sugrīva over Vāli it is because the story demanded so and not that Rāma was biased or had inferiority complex before Vāli (p. 19)!! A 'Racial'

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element is also included in the criticism (pp. 20, 21). If they would have dictated Rāma to do things in 'their way' then we would have got a different *Rāmāyaṇa* from the existing one. But these people should remember that every person has a different perspective about everything and they would like to revise everything in their own way! People should know it is Vālmīki's poetic composition not a case filed by 'Vāli and company' for prosecution. His right to 'Freedom of expression' should be respected by the 'Moral Police'. Moreover, *Rāmāyaṇa* is not based only on the issue of *Vāli-vadha* !

The author of the book is a barrister and author of 'Eardley Norton: A Biography' - a well appreciated book about the colonial lawyer.

This book *'The Fatal Arrow'* may be an interesting one for the law-students as it gives various angles of law for prosecuting or defending a criminal. For common reader, it will be wastage of time as it is very dry discussion/analyses with repetitions. For scholars/students of Sanskrit literature, it is offending as the very first poet of the Sanskrit literature who composed the epic 400BC ago; his hero is being tried by the liberal's tribe in twenty first century. Perhaps the long judicial battle of *Rāmajanmabhūmi* has made Rāma as an easy target for them.

The language of the book is easy and flawless. Especially the printing and the size of the fonts used are very comfortable for reading eyes. The front cover of the book is very attractive so is the back cover.

But the spellings of the names of the characters is confusing one ...the author has not used diacritical marks to show the correct pronunciation of the words but sometimes writes English spellings and sometimes Indian spellings (without diacritical marks) like Srimad (not Shrimad or Śrimad), Tattvasara prakasika (not Tattvasāra prakāśikā/prakashika). His Kishkindha (Kiṣkindhā) is Kishkinda everywhere, Rishyamuka (Ṛṣyamūka) is Rishyamukha, C. Rajagopalachari (Rajaji) spells 'Raama', 'Vaali' (p. 11); Ramakrishna Row could not get over his south-Indian accent as Sītā is 'Sitha'(p. 17). P. H. Gupta (p. 20) has used Seetha, Vaali, Kishkinda...

Above all, the author should be appreciated for his analytical efforts to get our attention to a conflicting issue of the maiden epic of Sanskrit language.

Vadodara **Sharmila Bagchi**

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NEW ARRIVAL

Saṁskṛta-sāhitye Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhasya Yogadānam (Sanskrit), (Contribution of Ramakrishna Math & Mission to Sanskrit Literature) by Narayana Dash, Publisher - Swami Sarvalokananda, VCR Books, An Imprint of Vivekanand Centre for Research, Ramakrishna Mission Residential College, Narendrapur, Kolkata, ISBN 978-81-933776-3-5, First Impression: *2076 Vikrama Saṁvat,* 2018 AD, pp.207, Price: Rs.108/- (Hardcover).

Narayana Dash, a multi dimensional personality has marked his presence in the field of Modern Sanskrit Literature as a poet, story writer, critic, keen researcher and editor of Sanskrit periodical - *Kathāsarit*. He has bagged Maharṣi Bādarāyaṇa and Yuvā-sāhityakāra awards and is also felicitated by Kendra Sāhitya Academy and various Sanskrit academies for his contribution to Sanskrit literature. Ten research books, three poems, five story books, ten translated books and twenty five edited books are to his credit. From such a versatile scholar one more gem - *Saṁskṛta-sāhitye Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhasya Yogadānam* in form of a research book has been added.

Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha a propagator of *Advaita Vedānta* is engaged in educational and social activities. It is usually known for editing and publishing of our ancient treasure of sacred Sanskrit works. Besides, it has also published other literature like *dhyānamantras, stotras,* prayers and prāṇamantras in Sanskrit composed by the learned disciples of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa, Svāmī Vivekānanda and Sāradādevī. In addition, Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha and other publishers have too published Sanskrit translations from Bengali such as doctrine of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa and Sāradādevī, lectures of Svāmī Vivekānanda on multiple subjects and other devotional works. Further, there is quite a big list of *Mahākāvyas,* plays and biographies composed by other prominent authors and published by others on Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa and Svāmī Vivekānanda. All this immense literature needed cataloguing and evaluation with critical approach.

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To fulfil this requirement, Dr. Narayana Dash made a genuine attempt to compile and reorganise all this literature by undertaking a minor research project with the grant from UGC. The outcome of his rigorous research work is published in this book under consideration.

The book is divided into seven chapters. The first five chapters are introduced as *adhyāyas.* They are: (1) *Bhūmikā* (Introduction) (2), *Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhaḥ, Tacchākhāḥ, Saṁskṛtakṣetre Tāsām Yogadānam ca* (Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha, its branches, their contribution to the Sanskrit field) (3) *Saṁskṛta-sāhitye Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhīyānām Yogadānam ca* (Contribution of Sanskrit literature by the members of Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha) (4) *Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhāśritam Saṁskṛtam Sāhityam* (Sanskrit Literature related to Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha) (5) *Upasaṁhāraḥ* (Conclusion). (6) *Pramukha-sandarbha-granthasūcī* (Bibliography) (7) *Lekhakaparicaya* (Author's Introduction).

The author believes that literature is highly influenced by political circumstances and social lives of region from where it has been composed. Hence, the reader should have the knowledge of the history of that region (p.15). With this notion, in the first *adhyāya* has an account of Bengal that broadly narrates various invaders, rulers, main races and change in political powers, social lives and peaceful coexistence of different religions, literary contributions of Śrī Rabindranātha Tāgore, Śrī Aurobindo Ghoṣa, Iśvarcandra Vidyāsāgara etc. and cultural growth.

The second *adhyāya* gives information about various branches of Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭhas located in the country and abroad, their activities, role in promoting Sanskrit education and research, publication of books and magazines etc. Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha's role in spread and propagating Sanskrit language is elaborated in this *adhyāya.*

The third and fourth *adhyāyas* are essence of the research work conducted by the author. Of these two, the third *adhyāya* gives information of Sanskrit literature composed by the direct disciples of Rāmakṛṣṇadeva like Svāmī Vivekānanda, Svāmī Abhedānanda, Svāmī Sāradānanda and many more. Whereas the fourth *adhyāya* deals with Sanskrit literature related to Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha with sub-topics like Sanskrit literature published by Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha, literature related to *maṭha*

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which is translated in Sanskrit, Sanskrit literature composed by the other prominent authors on the *Sannyāsins* of *maṭha* as well as literature related to *maṭha* published in Sanskrit Periodicals. Thus these two chapters focus on the contribution of Rāmakṛṣṇamaṭha to Sanskrit literature published by it and others, composed by the disciples and other authors and translated works in Sanskrit. The framework of these two *adhyāyas* is based on various aspects like: detail information about the authors, their compositions, type of literature, extracts from their literary pieces, literary evaluation and critical views of Dr. Dash on given compositions etc. The method of detailing the entries in the third and fourth *adhyāyas* is analytical and has critical approach to judge them without any prejudice. For instance, *'Vivekamaniṣā'* one of the Sanskrit translation works from *'Vāṇī O Racanā'* in Bengali written by Vivekānanda, for which the author comments that though the editors have skilfully carried out the translation work, it interrupts the flow of the reading due to some flaws in the book (p.143). The deep thoughts of Svāmī Vivekānanda on certain principles of Advaita *Vedānata* are presented in 3rd *adhyāya* in the sub-topic 'Svāmī Vivekānanda's contribution in the field of *Advaita Vedānta'*. The author has cited couple of thoughts on Upaniṣads, *Bhagvadgītā* and *Brahmasūtra* from Svāmī Vivekānanda's works. Few of them are compared and contrasted with the philosophy of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānuja and Sri Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa. He has taken one of the excerpts from the book *'The Complete Works of Swamī Vivekananda,* Vol.2, p.146' in which Vivekānanda's commentary on the very first *mantra* of *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* shows that how different were his thoughts from others (pp. 64-65). Regarding the author's approach towards critical evaluation of the selective *padya* literature, he reproduces *stotras /prayers/ mantras* fully or partly with the names and basic information of the composers. While evaluating, he provides the information of the metres used, explains certain verses and intention of the poet, marks the beauty of the poem by citing *Yamakas,* reiteration of words and sound etc. He also mentions the resemblances noticed in the contemporary *stotras* and *stotras* composed by Śrī Śaṅkarācārya and others.

The sixth chapter gives list of main reference books and the seventh chapter has information about Dr. Narayana Dash in detail.

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This kind of thorough and systematic research work will be a lighthouse for the prospective research students and scholars. The multiple sub-topics covered in this book can take shape of independent research subjects for students. Thus, it opens up new avenues in the field of Sanskrit research.

Vadodara

Vandana Lele

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ORIENTAL INSTITUTE'S ACTIVITIES (2021-2022)

After the Corona pandemic, the Institute is getting back to its normal routine slowly. In the second phase of Corona, nearly all the members and their families of the Institute got infected but all the members overcame it without any serious incident. The vaccine drive carried out actively by our University helped in a long way to supress the adversities. Still the regular creative activities of the Institute are hampered by it. We could manage the following activities throughout the year -

Manuscript Section

Oriental Institute is basically a manuscript library. That is why the scholars from all over the world approached us for the copies (digital) of manuscripts of their interest. The Corona did slow down the academic research activities but now the situation is coming to normal. This year we have provided 70 manuscript-copies to 32 scholars online. Among them 6 are the scholars from Āyurveda University, Jamnagar and Parul University, Vadodara.

This year we got a huge donation of manuscripts from Siddhanatha Ganesha Mandir, Ganeshwadi, Vadodara, which is being cleaned and classified.

Critical Edition Wing

The Critical Edition (CE) Department of the Institute was established for preparing the Critical Edition of *'Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa'*. Later this department made the CE of *'Viṣnupurāna'* and *'Markaṇdeya Purāṇa'* which were also highly acclaimed in scholarly world. At present this department is indulged in CE of *'Vāyupurāṇa'* whose concordance is being prepared. *'Gayāmahātmya'* – a part of it is nearly complete for which eight chapters of eight manuscripts are collated. Typing work of four chapters is finalized after thorough proof reading.

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Publications of Oriental Institute

This year we have published the 70th edition of *"Journal of Oriental Institute"* and 57th and 58th issues of *"Swādhyaya"*. All preparations for the next issues of both journals are complete.

On the special request of music proficient people, this year 3 old publications of Gaekwad's Oriental Series (GOS) – *'Saṅgīta Cūdāmaṇi'*, *'Rāga Tattvavibodha'* and *'Vīṇāprapāṭhaka'* are reprinted and presented in one book. All the books are in very much demand and were in "out of print" status for a long time. Another reprint *"Charak no Svādhyaya"* in Gujarati is going on. A new book in Gujarati *"Ādhunika Gujarātnā Santo"* is under printing process. The fifth Volume of *"The Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in Oriental Institute"* is in circulation.

Digital Copies of Manuscripts and Journals

After the subsidization of Corona, academic activities among scholars restarted. In the year 2021-2022, we have supplied 70 copies of the manuscripts to 32 people. The digital copies of the articles published in old issues of our both journals are often asked for by people. This year we also provided 24 digital copies of articles of JOI (English journal) and 61 copies of *'Svādhyaya'* (multilingual journal).

Library

The library of Oriental Institute is famous for the availability of the very first edition of many rare and valuable (now nearly extinct in other libraries) books on Indology. Scholars come here in search of these books and journals (old and new issues of nearly all Indological journals) of famous institutes. We get 104 journals from Indian and foreign institutes in exchange of our both journals (specifically JOI). This year we got 285 journals and added 350 books to our collection of 50 thousand books. Our library is a reference library where people can refer books there only (books are not issued). Everyday 10-15 students, people from all walks visit our library.

Manuscript's -Preservation and Conservation Project

NMM (National Mission for Manuscript, New Delhi) has selected the Oriental Institute, Baroda as a Resource Centre for the Gujarat region for preservation and

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conservation of manuscripts. This project was started on 1/3/2019 and will go on for a long time as we have nearly 31,000 manuscripts in our collection to be treated. Till now 60,000 folios are treated where they are dusted, de-acidified, the broken folios are covered with Japanese tissue paper (8000 folios are conserved thus).

Guru Purnima and Saraswati Puja

Like every year, this year also *Guru Purnima* was celebrated with devotion. On this day (23 July 2021), the *'Guruvandana-stotras'* and *'Pranam-mantras'* were recited.

In the month of *'Aswin'*, the invocation of goddess Saraswati was done on *"Mula-naksatra'* during *'Navaratri'*. Three *purohits* commenced the rituals. For the next two days, *'Garba* dance' was organised in which University ex-employees also took part.

Visitors at Oriental Institute

Since the normal transportation services were affected by the pandemic for a long time, people from outside couldn't visit the Institute physically. But it has gained momentum now. In the year 2021-22, 40 people visited the Institute physically which included scholars, people from IT world, doctors, administration officers, heritage walkers along with 18 students from Swaminarayan institution (BAPS), Sarangpur, 30 students from Fine Arts faculty of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda. We always encourage the students from schools and colleges of this city to visit our institute.

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सौंदर्यलहरी

(शंकराचार्यविरचिता)

(Text in Sanskrit with Translations in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati with Multi-Colour Pictures)

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SPECIAL FEATURES :

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